THE

HISTORY

OF

FLORENCE.

In EIGHT BOOKS.

Tranſlated from the ITALIAN of

NICOLAS MACHIAVEL,

Secretary to that REPUBLIC.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOLUME THE FIRST.

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ADVERTISEMENT.

THE public is here preſented with a new edition of the Hiſtory of FLORENCE by MACHIAVEL. His lively genius and political abilities, his thorough knowlege of the facts he relates, his deep inſight into the ſecret ſprings of human actions, and his intimate acquaintance with the great perſonages then on the ſtage, muſt greatly intereſt every perſon of the leaſt knowlege and ability in his hiſtory of that famous Republic. All the fine writers of every nation in Europe, ſince his time, have always conſidered him as their model in the political knowlege of government, and maxims of ſtate; ſo that, in that branch of ſcience, he is acknowleged by all to have no rival: and whoever is the leaſt verſed in the writings of MONTESQUIEU, HAR-

RINGTON, SIDNEY, Lord BOLINGBROKE, and other geniuſes of the firſt name and character, will eaſily perceive the tuth of what is here advanced. He has propoſed TACITUS as his model in hiſtory; between whom, it muſt be owned, there is a very great reſemblance. "The former, in the words of an ingenious writer, ſeems to have ſurpaſſed all the antients, and the latter all the moderns, in making hiſtory a vehicle of inſtruction. They have both dived deep into the ſecret ſprings and motives of human actions; and the moſt uſeful philoſophy may be learned from their works. The former hath wrote the the hiſtory of the Romans under the emperors; a period which affords numerous inſtances of the depravity of mankind, with ſome ſhining examples, at the ſame time, of virtue and heroiſm. The latter, in his hiſtory of the republic of Florence, exhibits a ſtriking picture of all the diſorders and commotions to which a popular govern-

ment is ſubject. The harangues, with which the hiſtory and annals of TACITUS abound, are maſter-pieces of eloquence; and many ſpeeches occur in the hiſtory of MACHIAVEL, which are not inferior, in ſtrength and ſpirit, to thoſe of the Roman hiſtorian."

IN this tranſlation, the plainneſs and ſimplicity of the original is imitated and adopted; though, when the eloquence of MACHIAVEL is conſidered, great allowance muſt be made for the moſt ſpirited tranſlation whatever.

THE PROEM. BY THE AUTHOR.

I HAD once an intention, when first I designed to write the affairs of Florence, both within and without the city, to begin my narration from the year fourteen hundred and thirty-four, at which time the family of the Medici, by the great deserts of Cosmo, and John his father, aspired to more authority than any other in Florence: for I thought all actions before that time had been particularly related by signior Leonardo d'Arezzo, and signior Poggio, two most excellent historians. But after a diligent perusal of their works, in order to observe their way and method, and by imitating them, render this history more pleasant to the reader; I perceived, that in writing the Florentine

tranſactions with foreign princes and people, they had been very exact; but in civil diſcords and intrinſic diſſentions, and the cauſes from whence they ſprung, they had in one part been quite ſilent, and in the other ſo brief, that the reader could reap neither pleaſure nor profit: which I imagine they did, either becauſe they thought thoſe actions ſo inconſiderable, that they were unworthy to be committed to memory, or elſe out of fear of offending thoſe deſcended from them, of whom they were to diſcourſe, who, by the relating them, might perhaps be juſtly ſcandalized. Both which reaſons (I ſpeak without fear) appear unworthy of noble ſpirits; for if any thing teaches or delights in a hiſtory, it is the particular deſcription of things; and if any reading be profitable to citizens, that govern a commonwealth, it is that which ſets down the ſprings of animoſities and diviſions in their city, that growing wiſe by others damage, they may preſerve themſelves united.

For, if any examples have power over us, thoſe certainly of our own commonwealth have the greateſt, and do likewiſe more redound to our advantage. And if any republic fell into remarkable diviſions, thoſe of

Florence are moſt notable; for moſt other commonwealths we have any knowlege of, have been content with one diviſion, whereby, according to accidents, they have either added to, or ruined their city. But Florence, not content with one, has run into many. In Rome, as is notoriouſly known, after their kings were expelled, there happened a diſunion between the nobles and plebeians, which continued till their ruin. So Athens, and ſo all other commonwealths which in that time flouriſhed. But in Florence, there firſt happened diviſion between the nobles themſelves, then between the nobles and the people, then among the people and plebeians, and whenever any of theſe parties got the upperhand, then they divided among themſelves: which diviſions cauſed ſo many executions, baniſhments, and ruins of families, as are not recorded to have ever happened in any other city.

And in truth, in my judgment, there needs no better argument of the power of our city, than what may be deduced from theſe diviſions, which were capable to annihilate the greateſt and moſt populous city: yet ours ſeemed ſtill to increaſe. Such was the virtue of theſe citizens, and prevailency of their

judgment and valour to aggrandize themſelves and their city, that they, who remained untainted, could by their virtue more exalt it, than the malignity of thoſe accidents, which would have diminiſhed any other, could oppreſs it. And doubtleſs had Florence been ſo happy, when it firſt ſhook off the yoke of empire, to have eſtabliſhed ſuch a form of government, as might have maintained it united; I know no commonwealth, either antient or modern, would have been ſuperior or equal to it in arms or induſtry. For it is remarkable, that after they had driven out the Ghibellines in ſuch multitudes, that Tuſcany and Lombardy ſwarmed with them, the Guelfs, and thoſe which remained in the city, in that war againſt Arezzo, a year before the battle of Campaldino, raiſed of their own citizens twelve hundred men at arms, and twelve thouſand foot; and afterwards, in the war againſt Philip Viſconti, duke of Milan, when they were to follow their induſtry, and not make uſe of their own arms, for their men were conſumed, they ſpent in five years, which that war laſted, three millions and five hundred thouſand florins; and yet, when that war was ended, not content with

peace, to boaſt the power and riches of their city, they went and beſieged Lucca.

I cannot therefore imagine why any ſhould think theſe diviſions deſerve not a particular deſcription; and if thoſe noble authors were reſtrained by the fear they had of offending the memory of thoſe they were to diſcourſe of, they were much miſtaken, and appear not to have perfectly underſtood the ambition of men, and the deſire they have to perpetuate their own and their anceſtors names, not remembering, that many, not having the means to acquire fame by any good or glorious actions, have ſet their wits on work to gain it by wicked and deſperate exploits, nor conſidering that actions that have grandeur in themſelves, as all matters of ſtate and government have, however they are acted, or whatever ſucceſs they have, bring men more honour than blame.

Upon conſideration of which things, I changed my deſign, and reſolved to begin my hiſtory from the original of our city.

But becauſe I have no intention to invade any other man's province, I ſhall make a particular deſcription, until the year fourteen hundred and thirty-four, of ſuch things only as have happened within the city, ſaying no

more of affairs without than what is neceſſary for the better underſtanding of thoſe within; and after fourteen hundred and thirty-four, I ſhall particularly deſcribe both one and the other. And moreover, to the end this hiſtory may better, in all times, be underſtood, I ſhall ſet down, by what means Italy came under thoſe potentates which then governed; all which things, as well Italian as Florentine, will be compriſed in four books. The firſt briefly relating all the accidents of Italy, from the declination of the Roman empire, to the year fourteen hundred and thirty-four; the ſecond, beginning from the original of the city, ſhall continue till the war with the pope, after the driving out the duke of Athens; the third ſhall end with the year fourteen hundred and thirty-four, and the death of Ladiſlaus, king of Naples; where the fourth beginning, we ſhall, from that time to this preſent, particularly deſcribe all things that have happened, both within the city of Florence and without.

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THE HISTORY OF FLORENCE.

BOOK I.

THE people, inhabiting the regions north of the rivers Rhine and Danube, living in a healthful clime, and apt for generation, oft-times encreaſe to ſuch vaſt multitudes, that part of them are conſtrained to forſake their native country, and ſeek new places to dwell in. The order obſerved, when any of theſe provinces would diſburden themſelves of their inhabitants, is to divide into three parts, diſpoſing things ſo, that each part hath its equal number of nobility and commons, of rich and poor. Then, that part to whoſe lot it falls, goes to ſeek its fortune, and the others, eaſed of one third, ſit down, and enjoy their native ſoil. Theſe people were they, who deſtroyed the Roman empire, to which the emperors themſelves contributed, who, by forſaking Rome, the

antient ſeat of the empire, and ſetling themſelves at Conſtantinople, did extremely weaken that part of the weſtern empire, as well for want of their care and obſervance, as by expoſing it to the rapines both of its own miniſters, and their enemies. And indeed the ruin of ſuch an empire, founded upon the blood of ſo many valiant men, could never have been effected, where there had been leſs neglect in the princes, leſs treachery in their miniſters, or leſs power and obſtinacy in the aſſailors; for not one people alone, but many were they who conſpired to this ruin.

The firſt, that, after the Cimbrians overcome by Marius, came from thoſe northern parts, to infeſt the Roman empire, were the Viſigoths, or, in other words, the weſtern Goths; who, after ſome ſkirmiſhes on the confines of the empire, did, by grant from the emperors, for a long time, keep their ſtation on the banks of the Danube; and though, at divers times, and upon divers occaſions, they aſſailed the Roman provinces, yet they were always by the imperial powers repulſed, and, at laſt, glorioufly vanquiſhed by Theodoſius: ſo that, reduced under his obedience, they made no more a king over themſelves, but contented with the ſtipend allowed them, lived and made war under his enſigns and command. But Theodoſius dying, and leaving his two ſons, Arcadius and Honorius, heirs to his empire, but neither to his valour nor fortune, the times were changed with the prince. Theodoſius had committed the charge of the empire to three

governors, giving Ruffinus the lieutenancy of the east, Stilicon that of the west, and to Gildon, Africa: all which, after the decease of the emperor, sought not how to govern, like faithful ministers, but how to possess, like princes, those parts left them in charge. The designs of Gildon and Ruffinus were crushed in the very bud; but Stilicon, who knew better how to dissemble his intents, sought to gain confidence with the young emperors, and in the mean while so embroiled their estates, that he might, with more ease, afterwards seize them. To make therefore the Visigoths their enemies, he counselled the princes no more to give them their usual stipend. But not thinking them sufficient of themselves to disturb the empire, he contrived things so, that the Burgundians, Franks, Vandals, and Alans, all northern people, and ready to remove their habitations, should assail the Roman provinces.

The Visigoths, deprived of their wonted provision, to put themselves in a better posture of revenging such an injury, created Alaric their king, and turning their forces upon the empire, after various accidents, having spoiled all Italy, took and sacked Rome. In the height of his victories Alaric dies, and Ataulphus succeeds him, who takes to wife Placidia, sister to the emperors, and upon that alliance enters into league with them to relieve France and Spain, which provinces the Vandals, Burgundians, Alans, and Franks, upon the encouragements above-mentioned, had invaded. The issue

of which was, that the Vandals, who had poſſeſſed themſelves of that part of Spain, called Bœtica, being vigorouſly aſſaulted by the Viſigoths, and almoſt deſpairing of any relief, were, by Boniface, then lieutenant of Africa, invited over to poſſeſs that province; for having himſelf turned rebel, he was fearful, leaſt his treaſons ſhould be diſcovered to the emperors. Theſe motives eaſily encouraged the Vandals to undertake the enterprize, who, under the command of Genſeric their king, made themſelves lords of Africa.

Mean while Theodoſius, ſon of Arcadius, ſucceeded to the empire, who, having but ſmall regard of the weſtern affairs, gave opportunity to the northern people to ſettle themſelves in their conqueſts. Thus the Vandals began to lord it in Africa, and the Alans and Viſigoths in Spain, and the Franks and Burgundians not only ſeized upon Gaul, but gave names to the ſeveral parts by them poſſeſſed; whence one was called France, and the other Burgundy.

Theſe happy ſucceſſes moved more people to attempt the deſtruction of the empire; and another nation, called Huns, poſſeſſed themſelves of Pannonia, a province lying on this ſide the Danube, which from them has ever ſince born the name of Hungary. It happened alſo, as an addition to theſe diſorders, that the emperor, ſeeing himſelf beſet on all ſides, was forced, to leſſen the number of his enemies, ſometimes to make peace with the Vandals, ſometimes with the Franks, whereby the bar-

barous nations grew ſtill more powerful, and the glory of the empire decreaſed. Nor was the iſland of Britain, now called England, ſecure in this general calamity; for the Britains, afraid of thoſe people who had poſſeſſed themſelves of France, and ſeeing no way how the emperor could defend them, called to their aſſiſtance the Angli, a people of Germany. Theſe Angli, under their king Vortiger, undertook the affair; and having firſt defended them, ſoon after drove them out of the iſland, placing themſelves there, and from their own name calling it England: whoſe old inhabitants, thus driven from their native ſoil, grew deſperate, and, though they could not defend their own country, reſolved to ſeize upon another: to which end, with all their families, they paſſed over that ſea, now called the Channel, and poſſeſſing themſelves of thoſe countries next the oppoſite ſhore, called them, after their own name, Britany.

The Huns who, as we ſaid before, had ſeated themſelves in Pannonia, confederating with other people, called Zepides, Erules, Turingians, and Oſtrogoths, as in their language they call the eaſtern Goths, determined to ſeek new habitations. But finding no enterance into France, already defended by the barbarous people, they marched into Italy, under Attila their king, who, ſome time before, to ingroſs to himſelf the whole ſovereignty, had put to death his brother Bleda, thereby becoming ſo powerful, that Andaric, king of the Zepides, and Velamir, king of the Oſtrogoths, did him homage.

At his arrival in Italy, Attila beſieges Aquilegia, before which he lay two whole years without any moleſtation, and whilſt he was in that leaguer, deſtroyed the whole country about it, diſperſing all its inhabitants, which gave the firſt beginnings, as ſhall in due time be told, to the city of Venice. After the taking and deſtroying Aquilegia, and many other cities, he turned his forces towards Rome, the ſpoil of which he forbore, at the earneſt prayers of the pope, to which he paid ſuch reverence and reſpect, that, leaving Italy, he returned into Auſtria, and there died.

After his deceaſe, Velamir, king of the Oſtrogoths, with the chief of the other nations, took arms againſt Tenric and Eurie, his ſons, and killing one, forced the other, with his Huns, to repaſs the Danube, and return into their own country; the Oſtrogoths and Zepides ſeating themſelves in Pannonia, and the Erules and Turingians on the farther bank of the Danube. Attila having left Italy, Valentinian, the emperor of the weſt, endeavoured to reſtore it to the empire; and the more conveniently to defend it from that barbarian's power, forſakes Rome, and makes Ravenna his ſeat. Theſe calamities were the occaſion, that the emperors, who reſided at Conſtantinople, had many times granted the poſſeſſion of it to others, as a thing full of hazard and expence, and the Romans had as often, without their permiſſion, ſeeing themſelves abandoned, either of themſelves created an emperor to defend them, or ſome perſon of authority a-

mongſt them had uſurped that dignity: as at this time Maximus the Roman happened to do after Valentinian's death, forcing moreover Eudoxia, that had been his wife, to marry him: who, impatient to revenge ſuch an injury, and not enduring to ſubmit to the marriage of a private citizen, being herſelf born of imperial blood, ſecretly encourages Genſeric, king of the Vandals, and now lord of Africa, to invade Italy; ſhewing him both the eaſineſs and advantage of the conqueſt. He, enticed with the hopes of prey, ſoon comes, and finding Rome forſaken, ſacks it, and ſtays in it fourteen days. He takes and pillages likewiſe many towns in Italy; and, having loaded himſelf and his army with plunder, returns into Afric. The Romans again returned to Rome: and Maximus being dead, they create Avita, a Roman, emperor. In longer proceſs of time, and after various accidents in Italy and abroad, and the death of ſeveral emperors, the empire of Conſtantinople fell to Zenon, and that of Rome to Oreſtes and Auguſtulus his ſon, who, by cunning, had ſeized the empire: and whilſt he deſigned to maintain it by force, the Erules and Turingians, who, as I ſaid before, had ſeated themſelves on the farther ſide of the Danube, uniting under Odoacer their captain, came into Italy, and into the places by them deſerted: entered the Lombards, a northern people likewiſe, under the conduct of Godoglius their king, who became, as in due time ſhall be ſaid, the laſt plague of Italy.

Odoacer, thus come into Italy, overcame and slew Orestes near to Pavia, and Augustulus fled.

After this victory, that Rome might feel a change of title as well as master, Odoacer, forbearing the title of emperor, causes himself to be stiled king of Rome, and was the first of the Chieftains of those people, now running up and down the world to seek habitations, that settled in Italy; for all the others, either out of fear that they could not hold it, succour from the eastern empire being so near at hand, or for some other hidden cause, had only plundered it, and sought some other place of residence. Upon the whole, the antient Roman empire was in these times reduced under these princes. Zenon, who reigned in Constantinople, commanded the whole eastern empire; the Ostrogoths were lords of Misia and Pannonia. The Visigoths, Suevis, and Alans, held Gascony and Spain; the Vandals, Africa; and the Erules and Turingians, Italy. The kingdom of the Ostrogoths was now descended to Theodoric, nephew of Velamir; who, being in league with Zenon, emperor of the east, sent him word, that his Ostrogoths thought it hard measure, that they, who were superior to all other people in valour, should be inferior in empire; and that it was impossible for him, to restrain them within the bounds of Pannonia: therefore, since he was necessitated to let them take arms, and seek new abodes, he thought fit first to acquaint him with it, to the end he might provide for them, by granting them peaceably some territories, where, with his

good favour, they might live more happily and commodiously. Whereupon Zenon, partly for fear, and partly out of a desire to drive Odoacer out of Italy, gave Theodoric leave to march against him, and take possession of Italy: who, soon departing from Pannonia, where he left the Zepides, a people his allies, and coming into Italy, he kills Odoacer and his son; and, after his example, takes the title of king of Italy, choosing Ravenna for his seat, out of the same motives which had formerly persuaded Valentinian to reside there.

Theodoric was a man, both in war and peace, most excellent; for in the one he was always conqueror, and in the other a great benefactor to his cities and people. He distributed his Ostrogoths, with their captains, throughout the country, to the end, that in the war he might command them, and in peace govern them. He enlarged Ravenna, restored Rome, and, except military discipline, admitted the Romans to all degrees of honour. He kept within their bounds, and that without any tumult of war, but by his sole authority, all those barbarous kings who had shared the empire. He built towns and fortresses between the point of the Adriatic sea, and the Alps, the more easily to impeach the passage of any new barbarians that might come to infest Italy. And had not so many virtues been, towards his latter end, sullied with some cruelty, occasioned by jealousy of state, which the deaths of Simmachus and Boetius, two holy men, are testimonies of, his memory had, in all points

been worthy of renown and honour; for by his virtue and goodneſs, not only Rome and Italy, but all other parts of the weſtern empire, freed from the continual embroils of war, which for ſo long a term of years they had undergone, by reaſon of the inundations of ſo many barbarous nations, were relieved, and reduced unto good order and happy eſtate. And, certainly, if any times may be termed miſerable in Italy, or in thoſe provinces over-run by the barbarians, they were thoſe which paſſed between the reigns of Honorius and Arcadius, and his. For, if it be well conſidered what damage it is to any commonwealth, or kingdom, to change its prince or government, not by any extrinſic force, but by civil diſcord; and how by little variations, kingdoms and commonwealths, though never ſo potent run to ruin; it will afterward be eaſy to conceive how much Italy and other Roman provinces did in thoſe times ſuffer, which not only changed their government, but their laws, cuſtoms, manner of living, religion, language, habit, and name; each of which things aſunder, how much more then all together, are able to make the moſt reſolute heart, that ſhall but think of them without either ſeeing or enduring them, to tremble. From hence ſprung the ruin and the riſe, the fall and increaſe, of many cities.

Among thoſe that were ruined were Aquileia, Luni, Chiuſi, Popolonia, Fieſole, and many others; among thoſe that were new built were Venice, Siena, Ferrara, and Aquila, and many other towns and

caſtles, which for brevity ſake, I omit. Thoſe which, from ſmall ones, grew great, were Florence, Genoa, Piſa, Milan, Naples, and Bologna; to which may be added the ruin and reſtoring of Rome, and many other cities deſtroyed and rebuilt.

Among theſe devaſtations, and this new people, ſprung up new tongues, as is evident by the language now in uſe in Spain, France, and Italy, which being a mixture of the native language of thoſe nations, with the antient Roman, has begot a new dialect of ſpeech. For beſides, not only provinces have changed their names, but even lakes, rivers, ſeas and men; France, Spain, and Italy, being full of new names, quite different from the former: for example, to omit many other, the Po, Garda, and Archipelago, have names now utterly diſconſonant from what was given them by the antients: men likewiſe, from Cæſar and Pompey, are come to be called Peter, John, and Matthew. But of all theſe variations, the change of religion was not of the leaſt moment; for the uſe and cuſtom of the antient faith ingrafted in men, ſtruggling and ſtriving with the miracles of the new, moſt dreadful diſcords and tumults were raiſed amongſt all people; and certainly had the Chriſtian religion been united, the diſorders muſt have been much leſs. But whilſt the Greek church, the Roman, and that of Ravenna, ſtrove againſt each other, and heretics beſides oppoſed the catholic doctrine, it ſadly diſturbed the whole; witneſs Africa, which endured more calamities by the Arian ſect, with whom the Vandals

complied, and believed in, than by either their avarice or natural cruelty. So that men, living in such a circle of perſecution, bore in their eyes the terror of their hearts; for beſides the infinite miſeries they underwent, many knew not how to flee to the refuge of the Almighty, on whom all the diſtreſſed depend; for the greateſt part, being doubtful to what God to have recourſe, deſpairing of all relief and ſuccour, miſerably died.

Theodoric therefore deſerves no ſmall praiſe for having been the firſt that could give a ſtop to all theſe miſchiefs, inſomuch that in the eight and thirty years that he reigned in Italy, he reſtored it to ſuch ſplendor, that its former deſolations were ſcarce perceivable. But he dead, and the kingdom deſcended to Atalaric, ſon of his daughter Amalaſonta, the perverſeneſs of fortune not yet quite allayed, Italy, in a very ſhort time, fell into the ſame plunge of misfortunes it had formerly groaned under.

For Atalaric, ſoon after his grand-father's death, and that the government remained in his mother, was betrayed by Theodatus, who was called in by her to be her aſſiſtant in the government of the kingdom. He having ſlain her, made himſelf king, and by that means becoming odious to the Oſtrogoths, gave occaſion to the emperor Juſtinian, to hope he might drive him out of Italy; to which end he deputes Belliſarius his general, who had already ſubdued Africa, and either driven out the Vandals, or forced them to ſubmit. Belliſarius had

all that time poſſeſſed himſelf of Sicily, from whence paſſing into Italy, he takes Naples and Rome. The Goths, incenſed at theſe loſſes, kill their king Theodatus, whom they thought the occaſion of them, and in his place choſe Vitigetes, who, after ſome ſtrugglings, was by Belliſarius beſieged at Ravenna, and taken; but ere Belliſarius could to the full purſue his victory, he was recalled by Juſtinian; and John, and Vitalis, conſtituted in his ſtead, perſons quite different from the other, both in courage and conduct. Whereupon the Goths, taking heart, created Ildovaldus, then governor of Verona, their king. After whom, for he was killed, came Totila to the kingdom, who gave ſuch ſhocks to the forces of the empire, that he recovered Tuſcany, and reduced the emperor's captains to the defence of the laſt caſt of all that Belliſarius had recovered; which made Juſtinian reſolve to ſend him again into Italy; who returning but with ſlender forces, rather loſt that reputation he before had got, than gained any new. For Totila, whilſt Belliſarius, with his army, lay encamped at Oſtia, in the very face of him took Rome; but ſeeing he could neither ſafely hold, nor deſert it, he for the moſt part diſmantled it, driving out the people, and leading away the ſenators captive; and ſlighting Belliſarius, marched into Calabria to meet thoſe forces that came to his recruit. Belliſarius, ſeeing Rome thus deſerted, made an honourable attempt; for entering the ruins of Rome, with all imaginable celerity, he began to rebuild the walls of it, and

recal the inhabitants. But fortune was averſe to this his noble enterprize; for Juſtinian, being at that inſtant aſſailed by the Parthians, once more recalled him; and he, in obedience to his lord, deſerts Italy, leaving that province to the diſcretion of Totila, who ſoon retakes Rome: but treated it not now with the former cruelty; for at the intreaty of St. Benedict, a man then in great reputation for his holineſs, he ſtrove rather to reſtore it.

Mean while Juſtinian, having made peace with the Parthians, deſigned to ſend a freſh army to the relief of Italy, but was diverted by the invaſions of the Sclavonians, a new northern people, who having paſſed the Danube, were entered into Illyria and Thracia: ſo that Totila was in a manner the ſole poſſeſſor of Italy. But Juſtinian, having overthrown the Sclavonians, ſends his army thither under the command of Narſetes the eunuch, a man moſt expert in war: who, arriving in Italy, defeats and kills Totila, and whilſt the remaining Goths made their retreat to Pavia, creating there Teja their king, Nerſetes poſſeſſes himſelf of Rome, and after marching towards Teja, fights him near Nocera, and overthrows and kills him. By which victory the very name of the Goths was extinct in Italy, who, for above ſeventy years, from Theodoric their firſt king, to Teja their laſt, had there lorded it.

No ſooner was Italy freed from the Goths, but Juſtinian died, leaving Juſtin his ſon his ſucceſſor, who, counſelled by his wife Sophia, recals Narſetes out of Italy, and ſends Longinus in his ſtead.

Longinus followed the method others had done before, reſiding at Ravenna: but beſides that, he impoſed a new form of government; not conſtituting lieutenants of provinces as the Goths had done, but making chiefs of every important city, under the title of dukes; and in theſe kind of diſtributions he honoured Rome no more than any other place. For taking away the conſuls and ſenate, which, till that day, had continued, he reduced it under the command of a duke; whom he yearly ſent from Ravenna, and called it the Roman Duchy: and to the emperor's lieutenant, who governed all Italy, he gave the ſtile of Exarch.

This diviſion much facilited the ruin of Italy, and contributed to the Lombards poſſeſſing themſelves of it with the more celerity. Narſetes was highly incenſed againſt the emperor for taking from him the government of a province he had conquered with his own blood and valour; and the more, becauſe Sophia, not content with the injury of having made him be recalled, had added ſcornful and reproachful terms to it, giving out that ſhe would have him ſet to ſpin amongſt the other eunuchs: inſomuch that Narſetes, ſwelling with rage and indignation, perſuades Alboinus king of the Lombards, then reigning in Pannonia, to come and poſſeſs himſelf of Italy.

The Lombards had, as we have ſaid before, ſeated themſelves in thoſe territories on the banks of the Danube, deſerted by the Erules and Turingians, when their king Odoacer led them into Italy;

where having ſome time reſided, and their kingdom deſcending upon Alboinus, a bold and warlike man, they paſſed the Danube, and encountering Comundus, king of the Lepides, then poſſeſſed of Pannonia, overthrew and ſlew him. Amongſt the captives, Alboinus finds Roſamund, the daughter of Comundus, and taking her to wife becomes lord of Pannonia; but, out of a brutiſh fierceneſs in his nature, he make a drinking cup of Comundus's ſkull, and out of it uſed to carouſe in memory of that victory.

Invited now by Narſetes, with whom he had been in league during the Gothic war, he leaves Pannonia to the Huns, who, as we have ſaid, were after the death of Attila returned into their own country, and comes into Italy; which, finding ſo ſtrangely divided, he, in an inſtant, poſſeſſes himſelf of Pavia, Milan, Verona, Vicenza, all Tuſcany, and the greateſt part of Flaminia, at this day called Romania. So that, by theſe great and ſudden victories, judging himſelf already conqueror of Italy, he makes a ſolemn feaſt at Verona; and, in the heat of wine, growing merry, cauſes Comundus's ſkull to be filled full of wine, and would needs have it preſented to queen Roſamund, who ſat at table over againſt him, telling her ſo loud, that all might hear, that in ſuch a time of mirth he would have her drink with her father. Thoſe words were ſo many darts in the poor lady's boſom; and conſulting with revenge, ſhe bethought herſelf, how Almachildis, a noble Lombard, young and valiant,

courted one of the ladies of the bed-chamber. With her ſhe contrives, that ſhe ſhould promiſe Almachildis, the kindneſs of admitting him by night to her chamber; and Almachildis, according to her aſſignation, being received into a dark room, lies with the queen, whilſt he thought he lay with the lady; who, after the fact, diſcovers herſelf, offering to his choice either the killing of Alboinus, and enjoying her and the crown; or the being made his ſacrifice for defiling his bed. Almachildis conſents to kill Alboinus; but ſeeing afterwards their deſigns of ſeizing the kingdom prove unſucceſsful, nay, rather fearing to be put to death by the Lombards, ſuch love bore they to Alboinus! they fled with all the royal treaſure to Longinus at Ravenna, who honourably received them.

During theſe confuſions, Juſtin dies, and Tiberius was made emperor in his ſtead; who, employed in the Parthian war, could give no relief to Italy; which made Longinus think it a convenient time for him, by means of Roſamund and her treaſure, to make himſelf king of the Lombards, and all Italy. He conſults with her about it, and perſuades her to kill Almachildis, and marry him, which ſhe accepting, prepares a cup of poiſon, and, with her own hand, gives it Almachildis, as he came thirſty out of the bath; who, having drunk half of it, and finding it begin to work inwardly, ſuſpecting what it was, forces Roſamund to drink the reſt; ſo that, in a few hours, both died; and Longinus loſt his hopes of being king.

Mean while the Lombards aſſembling in Pavia, which they had made the principal ſeat of their kingdom, choſe Clefis their king; who rebuilt Imola deſtroyed by Marſetes, took Rimini, and almoſt all the other towns as far as Rome; but in this courſe of victory he dies. This Clefis was ſo cruel, not only to ſtrangers, but to his own Lombards, that they, terrified with the regal power, would no more create a king, but made choice among themſelves of thirty dukes or captains to govern. The reſult of which determination was the cauſe that the Lombards never became maſters of all Italy, that their dominions never reached farther than Beneventum; and that Rome, Ravenna, Cremona, Mantua, Padua, Monſelice, Parma, Bolonia, Faenza, Furli, and Ceſana, did, many of them, for a long time defend themſelves, and ſome of them never came under their dominion: for the want of a king made them leſs apt for war, and when afterwards they did create one, the time they had been free had begot in them a humour of being leſs obedient, and more prone to diſorders among themſelves, which firſt put a ſtop to their victories, and at length drove them out of Italy.

The affairs of the Lombards being therefore in this condition, Longinus and the Romans made peace with them, upon the terms that both parties ſhould lay down arms, and each poſſeſs what they held.

About this time the popes began to graſp a larger authority than ever they had done; for the firſt

ſucceſſors of St. Peter being reverenced by all men, for their miracles and holy life, the Chriſtian religion ſpread ſo far by their example, that princes were conſtrained, to avoid confuſion in the world, to yield obedience to it. The emperor therefore being become Chriſtian, and having left Rome, and ſeated himſelf in Conſtantinople, it followed, as we have ſaid in the beginning, that the empire fell to decay, and the church of Rome did the more eaſily flouriſh. Notwithſtanding which, until the coming of the Lombards, whilſt all Italy was ſubject to the emperor or kings, the popes never aſſumed any further authority, than what the reverence paid to their doctrine and piety gave them. In all other things they ſubmitted either to the emperor or king, and ſometimes were by them put to death, and as their miniſters, called to account for their actions. But that which made them gain a potency, and be looked upon as of ſome moment in the affairs of Italy, was Theodoric, king of the Goths, chooſing Ravenna for his ſeat. For Rome being left without a prince, the Romans, for their refuge, took occaſion to yield obedience to the popes: yet, by this means their authority increaſed not very much, only the church of Rome obtained the precedency of that of Ravenna. But after the coming of the Lombards, Italy being divided into ſeveral parts, gave the popes opportunity of becoming more briſk: for they being, as it were, the head of Rome, both the emperor of Conſtantinople, and the Lombards, had ſo much reſpect for them, that the Romans, by

means of the Popes, treated with, and made leagues with Longinus and the Lombards, not as ſubjects but allies. And thus the popes ſometimes ſiding with the Lombards, and ſometimes with the Greeks, increaſed their own power and dignity.

The ruin alſo of the eaſtern empire ſucceeding, which happened about theſe times under Heracleus the emperor, the Sclavonians, before-mentioned, again invading Illyria, and having maſtered it, calling it after their own name Sclavonia, and other parts of the empire being firſt over-run by the Perſians, then by the Saracens, who, under Mahomet, broke out of Arabia; and laſtly by the Turks, Syria, Africa, and Egypt being lopped off from it; the popes having no more that empire, now grown ſo weak, to fly to for refuge; and on the other ſide the power of the Lombards daily increaſing, they thought it high time to ſeek out new friends; and accordingly had recourſe to the kings of France for ſupport. So that all the wars hereafter made by the Barbarians in Italy were at the pope's inſtigation, and all the armies that infeſted it were, for the moſt part, called in by them; which courſe they have continued even to theſe very times. And this is it that has ſtill kept Italy ſo weak and divided.

Therefore, in diſcourſing the things following, we ſhall not treat farther of the fall of the empire, now quite laid on the ground, but of the growth of papacy, and of thoſe other principalities, which had the rule of Italy from that time, till the coming of Charles the eighth, ſetting forth how the popes,

firſt by excommunication, and then by it and arms together, grew at once to be terrible, and to be reverenced; and how by ill uſing both the one and the other, they have utterly loſt the firſt, and ſtand, as to the laſt, at others diſcretion.

But to return to the matter in hand: Gregory the third coming to the papacy, and Aſtolphus to the kingdom of Lombardy, the laſt, contrary to all agreements, ſeizes Ravenna, and makes war upon the pope. Whereupon Gregory, for the reaſons before-recited, relying no longer upon the emperor of Conſtantinople, now ſo weakened, nor upon the faith of the Lombards, ſo often violated, ſends for aid to France, to king Pepin the Second, who, from lord of Auſtria and Brabant, was become king of France, not ſo much from his own perſonal valour, as that of his father, Charles Martel, and his grandfather, Pepin. For Charles Martel, being regent of that kingdom, gave that memorable defeat to the Saracens near Tours, on the river Loire, wherein above two hundred thouſand of them were ſlain; upon which, Pepin his ſon, fortified with his father's reputation, and his own virtue, became afterwards king of that country. To whom pope Gregory, as we have ſaid, ſent for aid againſt the Lombards; which Pepin promiſed to ſend him, but deſired firſt to ſee him, and be honoured with his preſence. Wherefore Gregory went to France, paſſing through the territories of the Lombards, his enemies, without any ſtop or moleſtation, ſo much was the veneration then paid to religion! Gregory,

coming into France, was highly honoured by that king, and ſent back with an army into Italy, who beſieged the Lombards in Pavia; whereupon Aſtolphus, much ſtreightened, was forced to come to an agreement with the French; and they granted him peace at the pope's interceſſion, who would not have the death of his enemy, but rather than he ſhould be converted and live. But Pepin's forces once returned to France, Aſtolphus kept not the league; whereupon the pope had again recourſe to king Pepin, who ſends a new army into Italy, overthrows the Lombards, takes Ravenna, and againſt the mind and will of the Greek emperor, gives it to the pope, together with all the lands belonging to that exarchate, adding to them the country of Urbin, and the territory of La Marca. But Aſtolphus, upon the conſigning over theſe lands, dies; and Deſiderius a Lombard, duke of Tuſcany, takes arms to ſeize the kingdom, craving aid of the pope, and promiſing him his friendſhip; who, accepting the offer, granted his aſſiſtance; whereupon all the other princes ſubmitted. Deſiderius was at firſt faithful to his word, and perfected the conſignation of thoſe lands to the pope, according to the agreement made with king Pepin; nor came there any more exarch from Conſtantinople to Ravenna, but it was governed at the pope's arbitriment. Pepin ſoon after died, and his ſon Charles ſucceeded him. This was he, who, for his extraordinary

feats of war, was ſirnamed the Great, or Charlemain.

In the mean time, Theodorus ſucceeded in the papacy. He fell at variance with Deſiderius, and was by him beſieged in Rome: whereupon the pope had recourſe to Charles for ſuccour, who, paſſing the Alps, beſieges Deſiderius in Pavia, and taking him and his children, ſends them priſoners into France, going himſelf forward to viſit the pope at Rome, where he pronounced, that the pope, being the vicar of God, was not to be judged by man; on which the pope and people of Rome made him emperor. And whereas the emperors uſed to confirm the popes, the emperors now in their election begun to ſtand in need of the popes; and then came the empire to looſe in point of honour, and the church to gain and increaſe, ſo that by degrees its authority more and more increaſed over temporal princes.

The Lombards had now been two hundred twenty two years in Italy, and were reputed ſtrangers in nothing but in name. And Charles, minded to regulate Italy, which was in the time of pope Leo the third, was content they ſhould dwell in the places where they were born, and called that province after their name Lombardy. And becauſe they ſhould bear a reverence to the Roman name, he would have all the adjoining country once ſubject to the exarchate of Ravenna, ſtiled Romania; beſides, he created his ſon Pepin king of Italy, whoſe jurisdiction extended as far as Beneventum,

and all the reſt belonged to the Greek emperor, with whom Charles had entered into alliance. Paſcal the firſt was at this time advanced to the papacy; and the prieſts of the church of Rome, to have a nearer and cloſer correſpondence with the pope, and to qualify themſelves for electing him, to adorn their power with a more eminent title, began to call themſelves cardinals, and arrogated ſo much to themſelves, eſpecially after having excluded the people of Rome from any voice in the election, that ſeldom was a pope choſen out of their number; whereupon, after the death of Paſcal, Eugenius the ſecond was created pope from the title of cardinal of Sancta Sabina.

Italy, now fallen into the hands of the French, changed ſomewhat of its manners and cuſtoms: the popes, having aſſumed a ſupremacy in temporalities, and the French having introduced the titles of Earls and Marqueſſes, as Longinus exarch of Ravenna did did that of Dukes. After ſome popes, Oſporco, or Hog's Mouth, was advanced to the papacy; who, becauſe of the brutiſhneſs of his own name, took that of Sergius, which gave original to the change of names ſince uſed by all popes at their election.

Mean while Charles the emperor died, and Louis his ſon ſucceeded in his ſtead. After whoſe deceaſe, aroſe ſuch difference among his children, that the empire, in the time of his nephews, was ſnatched away from the houſe of France, and tranſported to the Germans, the firſt German emperor being called

Ainulphus. Nor did the family of Charles, by their own diſcords only loſe the empire, but likewiſe the kingdom of Italy; for the Lombards, taking courage, ſo oppreſſed the pope and Romans, that the princes, not knowing whither to fly for refuge, were neceſſitated to create Berengarius, duke of Friuli, king. Theſe accidents encouraged the Huns, who inhabited Pannonia, to aſſail Italy; but loſing the battle to Berengarius, they were by him forced to return into Pannonia, or rather into Hungary, for ſo was that province from them now called. Romanus was at this time emperor of Conſtantinople, having uſurped that from Conſtantine, whoſe admiral he had been; and becauſe upon that revolution, Puglia and Calabria which, as we have ſaid before, were ſubject to that empire, had rebelled, enraged againſt them, he licenſed, or permitted at leaſt, the Saracens to invade thoſe countries, who once entered, not only poſſeſſed themſelves of thoſe provinces, but attempted the expungation of Rome. But the Romans, ſince Berengarius was employed in their defence againſt the Huns, made Alberigo, duke of Tuſcany, their general, and by his valour and conduct ſaved Rome from the Saracens; who, raiſing their ſiege, planted themſelves in a rock or fortreſs upon mount Gargano, and there lorded it over Puglia and Calabria, and oppreſſed the reſt of Italy. Thus ſadly was Italy in thoſe times afflicted; towards the Alps waſted by the Huns, and towards Naples by the Saracens. Long did it endure theſe pangs under three Berengarius's

ſucceſſively; during all which time the pope and church were ſorely diſtreſſed, not knowing whither to addreſs themſelves for relief, by reaſon of the diſſention of the weſtern princes, and the weakneſs of the eaſtern empire. The city of Genoa, and all that coaſt, were miſerably ruined by the Saracens, whence ſprung the firſt enlargement of Piſa, whither multitudes of people, driven from their habitations, fled. Theſe things happened in the year of Chriſt nine hundred and thirty-one.

But Otho, the ſon of Henry and Matilda, and duke of Saxony, being choſen emperor, a man of great prudence and reputation; Agabitus, then pope, beſought him to come into Italy, and deliver him from the tyranny of the Berengarii. The eſtates of Italy ſtood then in this poſture; Lombardy was under Berengarius the third, and Albertus his ſon. Tuſcany and Romania were governed by a lieutenant of the emperor of the weſt; Puglia and Calabria were partly ſubject to the eaſtern emperor, and partly to the Saracens. In Rome two of the nobility were yearly created conſuls, who governed according to the antient cuſtom, having joined with them a tribune or prefect of the people. They had a council of twelve, who yearly appointed ſuperintendents to the towns under their charge. The popes had in Rome, and in all Italy, more or leſs authority, according as the emperors, or thoſe moſt in power, favoured them. Otho, the emperor, came then into Italy, and deprived the Berengarii of that kingdom they had enjoyed for fifty-five years, re-

ſtoring the pope to his dignity. He had a ſon and a grand-child, both called likewiſe Otho, who, one after another, ſucceeded him in the empire. And in the time of Otho the third, pope Gregory the fifth being expelled by the Romans, Otho comes into Italy and reſtores him. And to revenge himſelf on the Romans, took away their authority of creating the emperor, and gave it to ſix princes of Germany; three biſhops, Mentz, Triers, and Cologne; and three temporal princes, Brandenburgh, the Palatinate, and Saxony. This was in the year one thouſand and two.

After the death of Otho the third, Henry duke of Bavaria was, by the electors, created emperor, and twelve years afterwards, crowned by pope Stephen the eighth. Both Henry and Simeonda his wife were perſons of a holy life, which is apparent by many temples endowed and built by them; among which was the church of St. Miniate, near the city of Florence. Henry died, in the year one thouſand and four, to whom ſucceeded Conradus of Suevia; after him Henry the ſecond. He came to Rome; and there being a ſchiſm in the church of three popes, he put them all down, and cauſed Clement the ſecond to be choſen.

Italy was now governed partly by the people, and partly by the princes, and partly by the miniſters of the emperor; amongſt whom the chief, and him whom all the reſt had recourſe to, was called chancellor. The moſt potent among the princes was Godfrid, and the counteſs Matilda, his lady, daugh-

ter to Beatrice, ſiſter to Henry the ſecond. She and her huſband poſſeſſed Lucca, Parma, Reggio, and Mantua, together with all that is now called the patrimony of St. Peter. The ambition of the people of Rome was a ſore thorn in the ſides of the pope's, though they had formerly made uſe of the pope's power to reſcue them from the emperors; but after having got the rule of the city, and reformed it according to pleaſure, they as ſuddenly became enemies to the popes: and more injuries did they receive from that people, than from any other Chriſtian prince. Nay, in that very time that the popes, with their excommunications, made all the weſt tremble, did the people of Rome ſtand out in rebellion, and the conteſt on either ſide was, who ſhould take away the others reputation and authority. To depreſs which, Nicolas the ſecond, being advanced to the papacy, as Gregory the fifth had taken from the Romans the power of creating emperors, ſo Nicolas deprived them of having any concurrence in the election of popes, which he ordained ſhould belong to the cardinals only. And not content with this, he made a compact with the princes of Calabria and Apulia, upon terms we ſhall tell hereafter; by which he conſtrained all officers, ſent from the Romans throughout their juriſdiction, to pay their obedience to the pope; and ſome of them he diſplaced.

After the death of Nicolas, was a ſchiſm in the church; for the clergy of Lombardy would not ſubmit to Alexander the ſecond, elected at Rome,

but choſe Cadolus of Parma anti-pope. Henry, who abhorred the power of the pope, gave warning to Alexander to renounce the papacy, and ſummoned the cardinals into Germany to chooſe a new pope. Whereby he became the firſt prince that felt the anguiſh of ſpiritual wounds; for the people called a new council at Rome, and deprived Henry of his crown and empire. Some of the people of Italy ſided with the pope, and ſome with Henry: and hence ſprung firſt up the faction of the Guelfs and the Ghibellines; ſo that Italy, now at quiet from barbarous inundations, begun to tear out its own bowels. Henry, thus excommunicated, was forced by his own people to come into Italy, and bare-foot and bare-leg'd, on his knees, aſked the pope pardon, which was done in the year one thouſand and eighty. Short time after, there happened a freſh conteſt between the pope and Henry; whereupon the pope again excommunicates him; and the emperor ſent his ſon, called likewiſe Henry, and by the help of the Romans, who hated the pope, beſieged him in his caſtle. Upon which, Robert Guiſcard advances out of Puglia to his relief; and Henry, not ſtaying for him, returns alone into Germany. The Romans continued ſtill obſtinate; on which account Rome was again ſacked by Robert, and reduced once more into thoſe heaps of ruins, from whence ſo many popes had before reſtored it. And becauſe from this Robert began the order of the kingdom of Naples, it will not be ſuperfluous to give a conciſe narrative of his actions and nation.

Thoſe diſcords which happened amongſt the heirs of Charlemain, of which we have before ſpoken, gave encouragement to a northern people called Normans, to invade France, and they poſſeſſed themſelves of that country, which at this day from them is called Normandy. Of theſe people ſome came into Italy, in the time that that province was at once infeſted by the Berengarii, Saracens, and Huns; and poſſeſſing themſelves of ſome lands in Romania, did, during all thoſe confuſions, valiantly maintain them. Tancred, one of thoſe Norman princes, had ſeveral ſons, and among others William, called Ferabar, and Robert, ſirnamed Guiſcard; and the tumults of Italy were now in ſome meaſure ceaſed. Yet the Saracens held Sicily, and made daily inroads on the ſea-coaſts of Italy. Whereupon William enters into a league with the princes of Capua and Salernum, and with Melarchus the Greek, that was the emperor's lieutenant in Puglia and Calabria, to invade Sicily; and in caſe that they ſucceeded, it was agreed that each ſhould have a fourth part both of the ſpoil and of the country. They had happy ſucceſs, and driving out the Saracens, poſſeſſed themſelves of Sicily. But after the victory, Melarchus, privily bringing in a ſtrong party of Greeks, takes poſſeſſion of the iſland for the emperor, and only divides the ſpoil; which mightily diſcontented William; but he ſmothered his reſentments, till he had a fitter opportunity; and came out of Sicily with the princes of Salernum and Capua. But as ſoon as they had

parted from him to go home, William returns not unto Romania, but turning aſide towards Puglia, he preſently takes Melfi; and from thence, in a ſhort time, in deſpite of all the power of the Greek emperor, makes himſelf lord of all Apulia and Calabria, over which his brother Robert Guiſcard reigned in the time of Pope Nicholas the ſecond. And becauſe there happened ſome difference betwixt him and his nephews about the inheritance of that ſtate, he made uſe of the pope's authority to compoſe it; with which the pope willingly complied, deſirous to gain Robert to defend him againſt the German emperors, and the inſolency of the people of Rome; which he afterwards did, when, as we have before declared, he, at the inſtance of Gregory the eighth, chaſed Henry from Rome, and tamed that people.

To Robert ſucceeded Roger, and William his ſons, to whoſe dominion was joined Naples, and all that country between Naples and Rome, and afterwards Sicily, of which Robert made himſelf maſter. Some time after, William going to Conſtantinople to marry the emperor's daughter, Roger fell upon his eſtates, and took them. Elevated by theſe acquiſitions, he was the firſt of that line who made himſelf be called king of Italy: but afterward contenting himſelf with the title of Puglia and Sicily, he was the firſt who give name and beginning to that kingdom, which is ſtill maintained within the antient limits, though it hath often changed not only blood but nation; for the Norman race de-

caying, that kingdom fell to the Germans, then to the Arragonians, and is at preſent poſſeſſed by the Flemmings.

Urban the ſecond was now come to the papacy, who, being hated in Rome, and not thinking himſelf ſafe in Italy, by reaſon of its diviſions, undertook a noble deſign: for going into France with all his clergy, and gathering together multitudes of people in Antwerp, by an oration he made againſt the infidels, he ſtirred up the minds of men, that they determined that war againſt the Saracens in Aſia; which enterprize, and all other of like kind that afterwards happened, were called Croiſadoes, becauſe all that went, wore upon their arms, or upon their upper garments, a red croſs.

The heads of this undertaking were Godfrey, Euſtachius, Adolvin of Buloign, earls of Bologna, and one Peter a Hermit, much renowned for his piety and prudence; to whom many princes and much people flocked with monies; and many went voluntarily to this war without expecting any pay, ſo much could religion prevail in the hearts of men! moved thereto by the example of their captains and leaders. This enterprize was very glorious in its beginnings; for not only all Aſia Minor, but Syria, and part of Egypt, fell into the hands of the Chriſtians, and this it was gave birth to the order of knights of Jeruſalem, which at this day are reigning and reſident in the iſland of Rhodes, the only ſtrong bulwark againſt the Turks. There now ſprung up likewiſe the order of knights templars,

who, by reaſon of the lewdneſs of their manners, ſoon fell to decay. In progreſs of time ſundry accidents happened, whereby many whole nations, as well as particular perſons, became famous. In favour of this enterprize went the kings of England and France, the nobles and people of Piſa, Venice, and Genoa; who all gained a high reputation, fighting a long time with various ſucceſſes againſt Saladine the Saracen Sultan. But in the end, his valour, and the Chriſtians diſſentions, robed them of all that glory, they had at firſt attained to, and after ninety years they were driven out of all that they had with ſo much honour and ſo happily recovered.

After the death of Urban, Paſcal the ſecond was created pope, and Henry the fourth advanced to the empire. He comes to Rome, feigning a friendſhip for the pope; but afterwards put the pope and all his clergy in priſon; nor would he releaſe them, till full power was granted him to diſpoſe of the German church as he pleaſed. About this time died the counteſs Matilda, and left the church heir to her eſtates.

After the death of Paſcal and Henry, ſucceeded divers popes and divers emperors; till ſuch time as the papacy came to Alexander the third, and the empire to Frederic the Swede, ſirnamed Barbaroſſa. The popes had, during all theſe times, been much perplexed by the emperors and people of Rome; but their vexation was in the time of Barbaroſſa mightily increaſed. Frederic was an excellent ſoldier, but of ſo haughty a ſpirit, that he could not endure to

yield to the pope; yet at his election he came to Rome to be crowned, and returned peaceably back into Germany: but he held not long in that quiet temper; for returning into Italy, to reduce ſome towns in Lombardy that had refuſed him obedience, it happened at the ſame time that the cardinal of St. Clement, a native of Rome, divided himſelf from pope Alexander, and by a juncto of cardinals was created pope.

The emperor Frederic lay then encamped at Cremona; to whom Alexander, ſending to complain of the anti-pope, received anſwer, that they ſhould both appear before him, and then he would give ſentence which of them ſhould be pope. This anſwer diſpleaſed Alexander; and becauſe he obſerved Frederic inclinable to favour the anti-pope, he excommunicates him, and flees to Philip king of France. Mean while Frederic, purſuing the war in Lombardy, takes and diſmantles Milan; whereupon Verona, Padua, and Vicenza, made a league together againſt him for their common defence. During theſe tranſactions, the anti-pope dies, and the emperor in his ſtead creates Guido of Cremona.

In this interval of time, the Romans, by reaſon of the pope's abſence, and the impediments the emperor met with in Lombardy, had re-aſſumed ſome authority, and went about requiring homage of thoſe towns that formerly had been their ſubjects: and becauſe the Tuſculans would not ſubmit to their authority, they attempted to force them to it; but they, being aſſiſted by Frederic, fell upon the army

of the Romans, and routed them with ſo horrible a ſlaughter, that Rome was never ſince either ſo rich or populous. However, pope Alexander was returned to Rome, hoping he might be very ſecure there, becauſe of the enmity the Romans bore to Frederic, and of the enemies which he had in Lombardy. But Frederic laying aſide reſpect of all things elſe, goes and encamps before Rome, where Alexander ſtayed not his coming, but flees for refuge to William king of Puglia, who remained heir of that king after the death of Roger. But the plague getting into Frederic's army, forced him to raiſe his ſiege, and return into Germany: and thoſe towns of Lombardy which had conſpired againſt him, the better to oppreſs Pavia and Tortona, which held on the imperial ſide, built a city to be the ſeat of the war, which they called Alexandria, in honour of pope Alexander, and ſcorn of Frederic. Guido the anti-pope likewiſe dying, John of Fermo was ſet up in his ſtead; who, protected by the imperial party, reſided in Monteſiaſconi.

Mean while pope Alexander was gone to Tuſculum, invited thither by that people, that by virtue of his authority, they might be the better defended from the Romans. Hither came to him ambaſſadors from Henry, king of England, to let him know that their king had not any hand in the death of St. Thomas archbiſhop of Canterbury, as was publicly reported. Whereupon the pope ſent two cardinals into England to enquire into the truth of this; and though they could not find the

king in any manifeſt fault, yet becauſe of the infamy and ſcandal of the ſin, and for that he had not honoured him as he deſerved, they put him to this penance, that convoking together all the barons of the kingdom, he ſhould clear himſelf upon oath before them, and beſides ſhould preſently ſend two hundred ſoldiers, paid for a whole year, to Jeruſalem; and ſhould himſelf be obliged, with as great an army as he could raiſe, to go there in perſon before three years expired. And further, that he ſhould annul all acts any way infringing the liberty of the clergy, and give conſent that any of his ſubjects that pleaſed might appeal to Rome: all which conditions were accepted by Henry, and that great king ſubmitted to a ſentence, which a private man would now bluſh to ſtoop to. But though the pope exerciſed ſuch authority over princes ſo far diſtant, yet could he not reduce the people of Rome to obedience, whom he could not prevail with to grant him reſidence there, though he promiſed, not to meddle with any but eccleſiaſtical affairs; ſo much are appearances more dreaded at a diſtance than nearer hand!

Frederic, mean while, was returned into Italy; and while he was preparing new war againſt the pope, all his prelates and lords declared they would forſake him, unleſs he would reconcile himſelf to the church; ſo that he was conſtrained to go and adore the pope at Venice where they came to accord. By which agreement the pope deprived the emperor of all authority over Rome, and nominated

William, king of Sicily and Puglia, for his confederate. And Frederic, of a temper not able to live in quiet, goes to the Holy Land, to wreck that rage and ambition upon the Mahometans, which he failed of having ſatisfied againſt the vicar of Chriſt. But coming to the river Cydnus, and delighted with the clearneſs of its ſtreams, he went to waſh himſelf in it, and of that diſorder died. Frederic thus dead, the pope had only the contumacy of the Romans to conteſt with. And after many diſputes about the creation of conſuls, it was agreed that the Romans ſhould elect them according to their ancient cuſtoms, but that they ſhould not enter upon the magiſtracy, till they had ſworn fealty to the church.

Mean while William king of Naples dies, and the pope deſigns to poſſeſs himſelf of that kingdom; that prince having left no other male-children but Tancred his baſe ſon. But the barons would by no means conſent to the pope, but would have Tancred for their king. Celeſtine the third was now pope, who, deſirous to ſnatch that kingdom out of Tancred's hand, contrived to make Henry ſon of Frederic emperor, and promiſed him the kingdom of Naples, upon condition he ſhould reſtore to the church thoſe lands appertained to it: and to make the matter more eaſy, he takes out of the monaſtery Conſtance, the daughter of William, already well ſtricken in years, and gives her Henry to wife. In this manner paſſed the kingdom of Naples

from the Normans, who had been the founders of it, to the Germans.

Henry the emperor, having firſt ſettled the affairs of Germany, comes into Italy, with his wife Conſtance, and his ſon of about four years old, called Frederic, and without much difficulty makes himſelf maſter of the kingdom; Tancred being already dead, and having left behind him only an infant called Roger. Sometime after, Henry dies in Sicily, and Frederic ſucceeds him in the kingdom; and in the empire, Otho duke of Saxony, made ſo by the favour of Innocent the third. But as ſoon as he had got the crown, contrary to all imagination, Otho becomes an enemy of the pope's, ſeizes on Romania, and prepares to invade the kingdom: whereupon the pope excommunicates him; and he being forſaken by all, the electors choſe Frederic king of Naples emperor. Frederic comes to Rome for the crown; but the pope refuſes to crown him, fearful of his power, and wiſhing rather to drive him out of Italy, as he had driven Otho. On which Frederic, in anger, goes into Germany, and after many battels with Otho, overcomes him. Mean time Innocent dies, who, beſides other his famous works, built the hoſpital of the Holy Ghoſt at Rome.

To him ſucceeded Honorius the third; in whoſe time ſprung up the orders of St. Dominic and St. Francis, in the year twelve hundred and eighteen. This pope crowns Frederic; and John, deſcended from Baldwin king of Jeruſalem, who was with the remnant of the Chriſtians in Aſia, and yet held the

title, gives him his daughter to wife, and for a dower conſigns to him the title of that kingdom; whence it comes, that whoever is king of Naples, ſtiles himſelf king of Jeruſalem.

In Italy they now lived after this manner: the Romans made no conſuls, but in ſtead of them they made ſometimes one, ſometimes more ſenators. The league likewiſe continues that was made amongſt the cities of Lombardy againſt the emperor Frederic Barbaroſſa; which were Milan, Breſcia, Mantua, with moſt part of the cities of Romania; and beſides them Verona, Vicenza, Padua, and Trevigi. On the emperor's part were Cremona, Bergamo, Parma, Regia, Modena, and Trent. The other cities and caſtles of Lombardy, Romania, and Marca Trevigiana, took, according to the neceſſity of the times, now one part, now the other.

There was come into Italy, in the time of Otho the third, one Ezelmo, of whom remained, in Italy, one ſon that begat another Ezelmo. He, being rich and potent, addreſſed himſelf to Frederic the ſecond, who, as has been ſaid, was become enemy to the pope. He took Verona and Mantua, diſmantled Vicenza, garriſoned Padua, and defeating the army of the allies, takes his courſe towards Tuſcany. In a ſhort time, Ezelmo had ſubdued all Marca Trevigiana; but he could not maſter Ferrara, it being too well defended by Azone d' Eſte, and thoſe people the pope had in Lombardy. Whereupon raiſing the ſiege, the pope gave that city in

fee to Azone d' Eſte, from whom are deſcended the preſent lords of it.

Frederic ſtayed at Piſa, deſirous to make himſelf lord of Tuſcany; and by ſtriving to diſtinguiſh between his friends and enemies, he ſowed thoſe ſeeds of diviſion which occaſioned the ruin of all Italy: for the faction of the Guelfs and the Ghibellines multiplied; thoſe who followed the church being called Guelfs, and thoſe who ſided with the emperor Ghibellines. In Piſtoya were theſe names firſt heard. Frederic, departing from Piſa, waſtes and deſtroys the territories of the church. So that the pope, having no other remedy, ſets on foot the Croiſado againſt him, as his predeceſſors had done againſt the infidels: and Frederic, that he might not in an inſtant be forſaken of his people, as Frederic Barbaroſſa, and other his anceſtors had been, hires great numbers of Saracens; and to oblige them to his ſervice, and erect to himſelf a bulwark in Italy, firm enough to withſtand the church, without fear of the pope's curſes, he gives unto them Nocera in the kingdom of Naples, that, having a refuge of their own, they might with more ſecurity ſerve him.

Innocent the fourth was now come to the popedom, who, fearful of Frederic, firſt goes to Genoa, and thence to France, where he calls a council at Lyons; to which Frederic determines to go, but was with-held by the rebellion of Parma; from the ſiege of which being repulſed, he goes into Tuſcany, and thence to Sicily, where he dies, leaving

his ſon Conrade in Suevia, and in Puglia, Manfred born of his concubine, whom he had made duke of Beneventum. Conrade comes to take poſſeſſion of the kingdom, and arriving at Naples dies, leaving only Conradine an infant, and then in Germany. Whereupon Manfred, firſt as protector of Conradine, gets that ſtate into his hands, and afterwards giving out that Conradine was dead, makes himſelf king both againſt the will of the pope, and the Neapolitans, whom he forced to give their conſent.

Whilſt the kingdom laboured under theſe calamities, many troubles were raiſed in Lombardy by the Guelf, and the Ghibelline factions. For the Guelfs ſtood up for the pope's legate, and the Ghibellines for Ezelmo, who was poſſeſſed of almoſt all Lombardy beyond the Po. And becauſe in the heat of the war Padua had rebelled, he put to death twelve thouſand Paduans; but before the war was ended died himſelf, at about thirty years of age: after whoſe death all the towns by him poſſeſſed were free. Manfred king of Naples purſued the enmity of his anceſtors againſt the church, and held the pope, who was now called Urban the eighth, in continual trouble and torment; in ſo much that to tame him, he ſet on foot the Croiſado againſt him, and went to Perugia to attend their coming in to him: but perceiving that people came in very ſlow and faintly, he concluded that to overcome Manfred, more certain helps would be requiſite. He therefore ſeeks the favour of France, and to that end, Charles of Anjou, brother of Louis

king of France, he creates king of Sicily and Naples, and encourages him to come and take poſſeſſion of that kingdom. But before Charles could get to Rome, the pope dies, and in his ſtead Clement the fourth was got into the chair; in whoſe time Charles with thirty gallies arrives at Oſtia, having given order to his other people to come by land. Whilſt he ſtayed in Rome, the Romans to gratify him, made him ſenator, and the pope inſtalled him in the kingdom, on condition that he ſhould yearly pay to the church fifty thouſand florins, and withal made a decree, that neither Charles, nor any other holding that kingdom, ſhould be capable of being emperors. Charles marches againſt Manfred, defeats and kills him near Beneventum, and ſo becomes lord of Sicily and Naples. But Conradine, to whom by his father's will that ſceptre belonged, having gathered a great power in Germany, comes into Italy againſt Charles, with whom he fights at Taliacozzo, is defeated and flees; but in his flight being known, is taken priſoner and ſlain.

Italy was now quiet, till Adrian the fifth ſucceeded to the papacy; and Charles being now at Rome, and governing the city by virtue of his ſenator's office, the pope, not able to endure his greatneſs and power, retires, and makes Viterbo his reſidence, from whence he ſolicites the emperor Rodolphus to come into Italy againſt Charles.

Thus the popes, often out of ſpecious pretences of the care of religion, but oftener out of their own

natural ambition, never ceaſed calling freſh forces into Italy, and ſtirring up of new wars; and no ſooner had they made any prince powerful, but they repented it, and ſought his ruin, not permitting any to poſſeſs that province, which, by reaſon of their own weakneſs, they could not enjoy. Princes alſo ſtood in awe of them, becauſe fighting or flying they always overcame, if they were not by ſome ſtratagem or other oppreſſed; as were Boniface the eighth, and ſome others; who, under the colour of friendſhip, were, by the emperors, made priſoners. Rodolphus could not come into Italy, being ſtaid by the war he had in Bohemia.

Whilſt things ſtood thus, Adrian dies, and Nicolas the third, of the family of Orſini, is made pope, who contrived all ways imaginable to leſſen the power of Charles, and managed things ſo as to make the emperor complain that Charles kept a governor in Tuſcany, and favoured the Guelf faction, which ſince Manfred's death had been by him revived in that province. Charles yielded to the emperor, and withdrew his governor, and the pope ſent one of his cardinal nephews governor for the empire: whereupon the emperor, in return of this honour, reſtored Romania to the church, which had by his predeceſſors been taken from it; and the pope made Bertold Orſini duke of Romania. Judging himſelf now potent enough to look Charles in the face, he firſt took away his office of ſenator, and made a decree that none of royal blood ſhould hereafter be ſenators of Rome. He had next a mind to ſnatch Sici-

ly from Charles; and to that end held a private treaty with Peter king of Aragon, which afterwards, in the time of his ſucceſſor, took effect. He deſigned likewiſe to make two kings of his own family; one in Lombardy, and the other in Tuſcany, whoſe power might be ſufficient to defend the church from the invaſion of the Germans, and inſolencies of the French already in the kingdom. But with theſe thoughts he died, and was the firſt of the popes that gave ſuch viſible teſtimonies of his natural ambition, and who, under colour of ſeeking the church's advantage, ſought only honours and riches for himſelf and his.

And as, in the times hitherto paſt, no mention is made of any nephews or kindred of the popes; ſo, for the future, the hiſtory will be ſo full of them, that we ſhall not fail to meet even with their own children; nor can the popes now have any thing more to tempt them, but as they have deſigned all along to theſe times to make principalities hereditary, ſo now to contrive to make the papacy ſo. Indeed true it is, that principalities by them erected are ſeldom long lived, becauſe the popes generally living themſelves but a very ſhort time, though they plant never ſo well, yet their plants not having time enough to ſpread and faſten in the root, having but ſlender hold, muſt needs upon the firſt guſt of wind flag, and wanting that virtue which ſhould uphold them, fall.

To Nicolas ſucceeded Martin the fourth, who, being of the French nation, favoured Charles's par-

ty; and in requital Charles ſent his forces into Romania that had rebelled, and being encamped at Furli, Guido Bonaſi, an aſtrologer, gave directions, that at a ſignal given by him the people ſhould fall on upon them, inſomuch that all the French were taken or ſlain. In this time the practice ſet on foot by pope Nicolas with Peter king of Aragon was brought to effect; for the Sicilians maſſacred all the French they found; and Peter made himſelf lord of the iſland, under pretence it belonged to him in right of his wife Conſtance the daughter of Manfred. But Charles providing for war, in order to the recovery of it, dies, leaving behind him Charles the ſecond, who in that war was made priſoner in Sicily; and to regain his liberty, promiſed that he would again deliver himſelf up priſoner, if within three years time he did not prevail with the pope to inveſt the kings of Aragon, with the kingdom of Sicily. Rodulphus the emperor, though he could not come into Italy, yet to gain the empire ſome reputation there, ſends his embaſſador, with full authority, to make all thoſe cities free that would purchaſe; whereupon many bought it, and with their liberty changed their manner of living.

Adolphus of Saxony ſucceeded in the empire; and in the papacy Piero del Murone, who was called pope Celeſtine; who being a hermit, and of a ſtrict and holy life, after ſix months reſigned, and Boniface the eighth was elected. Heaven, that knew there would a time come, that Italy ſhould be freed

from the French and Germans, and be left entire in the hands of Italians, ſo that the pope, if foreign obſtacles were once wanting, could neither eſtabliſh nor hold his power, raiſed up in Rome two mighty families, the Coloneſi and the Orſini, that with their power and vicinity, they might keep the papacy at a bay. Whereupon pope Boniface, who knew this well, endeavoured utterly to extirpate the family of the Coloneſi; and beſides having excommunicated them, bandied the Croiſado againſt them, which, if it damaged them, damaged the church much more: for thoſe arms, which by faith and charity would do wonders, being by ſelf-ambition turned againſt Chriſtians, loſe their edge and virtue: and thus the immoderate deſire of ſatisfying their own appetite, made the popes by degrees diſarm themſelves. He alſo depoſed two of that family, which were cardinals; and Sciarra the chief of the family, in a diſguiſe, flying, was taken by the Catalonian corſairs, and put to the oar; but afterwards coming to be known in Marſeilles, was ſent to Philip king of France, who ſtood excommunicated and deprived of his kingdom by Boniface.

Philip, conſidering that in open war againſt the pope, princes either came off loſers, or run great hazards, had recourſe to cunning, and diſſembling to make an agreement with the pope, he ſends Sciarra privately into Italy; who arrived at Anagnia where the pope then was; and getting his friends together by night, took him, and though ſoon after the people of Anagnia reſcued and ſet him at li-

berty, yet nevertheleſs, out of mere vexation to be ſo taken, he died mad. Boniface was the firſt that eſtabliſhed the jubilee, in the year thirteen hundred, and ordered the celebrating it every hundredth year.

About theſe times happened great troubles between the Guelf and Ghibelline factions; and becauſe Italy ſeemed forſaken by the emperors, many cities became free, and many were uſurped by tyrants. Pope Benedict reſtored the cardinal Coloneſi the hat, and abſolved Philip king of France. To him ſucceeded Clement the fifth, who being a Frenchman removed the court into France, in the year thirteen hundred and ſix.

During theſe things, died Charles the ſecond, king of Naples; to whom ſucceeded Robert his ſon; and to the empire was elected Henry of Luxemburgh, who came to Rome to be crowned, though the pope was not there. Sad troubles aroſe in Lombardy by reaſon of his coming; for all thoſe that were driven out, whether Guelfs or Ghibellines, being returned again into their own cities, and ſtriving again to drive each other out, they filled Italy with war and tumult, do whatever the emperor could to prevent it. Parting from Lombardy by way of Genoa, he came to Piſa, where he begun to contrive how to reſcue Tuſcany from king Robert; but not able to do any thing, he goes forward to Rome, where he ſtayed but few days; for being driven out by the Orſini, encouraged by king Robert's favour, he returned to Piſa; and that he

might more ſecurely war againſt Tuſcany, and withdraw it from under king Robert's yoke, he cauſed Frederic king of Sicily to invade it. But whilſt he was hoping to poſſeſs Tuſcany, and taking it away from Robert, he died. To whom ſucceeded in the empire Louis of Bavaria. And in the interim, John the two and twentieth came to be pope, during whoſe time the emperor ceaſed not to perſecute the Guelfs, and the church, whoſe chief defenders were king Robert, and the Florentines; whence aroſe mighty wars, managed in Lombardy by the Viſconti againſt the Guelfs, and in Tuſcany by Caſtruccio of Lucca againſt the Florentines. But becauſe the family of the Viſconti were thoſe that laid the foundation of the dutchy of Milan, one of the five principalities that governed Italy; I think it convenient to make a large inquiſition into their original.

After the league in Lombardy, which we have before mentioned, made by ſeveral cities to defend themſelves from Frederic Barbaroſſa, Milan, reſtored from its ruins, to revenge the injuries it had received, joined itſelf in that league, which bridled Barbaroſſa, and for a time kept the church party in heart and life; and amidſt the calamities of the war that enſued, the family de la Torre became moſt potent in that city, and daily increaſed in reputation, while the emperor's authority was but feeble in that province. But Frederic the ſecond coming into Italy, and the Ghibelline faction growing potent by means of Ezelmo, and that humour ſpread-

ing in every city; amongſt thoſe, who in Milan were leaders of that party, was the family of the Viſconti, who chaſed thoſe of de la Torre out of that city; yet ere they had been long expelled, by agreement made between the emperor and pope, they were reſtored to their country. But the pope being with his court gone into France, and Henry of Luxemburgh coming into Italy to go fetch the crown at Rome, was in Milan received by Maffeo Viſconti and Guido de la Torre, the two heads of thoſe families; and Maffeo deſigning to make uſe of the emperor to drive Guido out of Milan, which he judged eaſy to do, becauſe he was of the contrary faction, took occaſion from the grievances and complaints of the people at the tyrannous deportment of the Germans, and warily went about encouraging every one, and perſuading them to take arms and free themſelves from the ſlavery of thoſe barbarians. When he thought he had diſpoſed all things to his purpoſe, he cauſed, by one of his confidents, a tumult to be raiſed; whereupon all the people took arms againſt the German name; and no ſooner was the alarm given, but Maffeo, with his ſons, and all his confederates, arming themſelves, ran with ſpeed to Henry, telling him how this tumult aroſe from the family de la Torre, who, not content to live privately in Milan, had taken that opportunity to ſack it, to gratify the Guelfs of Italy, and make themſelves princes of that city; but that he ſhould be of good courage; for they and their party, if he were minded to defend himſelf, were

ready to run all hazards to ſecure him. The emperor believed all that Maffeo told him; and joining his forces to the Viſconti's, ſet upon thoſe of de la Torre, who were diſperſed up and down the city to appeaſe the tumult, and all that they met with, they ſlew; and the reſt, having diſpoiled them of their goods, they baniſhed. Thus remained Maffeo Viſconti as prince in Milan; and after him Galeazo and Azo; and after them Luctinus and John. John became archbiſhop of that city, and Luctinus, who died before him, left iſſue, Barnaby and Galeazo; but Galeazo, dying ſoon after, left behind him John Galeazo, called the count of Virtue; who, after the death of the archbiſhop, treacherouſly ſlew his uncle Barnaby, and remained the ſole prince of Milan, and was he who firſt bore the title of Duke. Of his iſſue remained Philip, and John Maria Angelo; who being ſlain by the people of Milan, the ſtate remained to Philip, who left no iſſue-male, and ſo was this government transferred from the family of the Viſconti's to that of the Sforza's, in the manner, and for the reaſons which ſhall, in due place, be declared. But to return where we left off.

Louis the emperor, to give reputation to his party, and to take the crown, comes into Italy, paſſing through Milan; and having occaſion to levy ſome money among the Milaneſe, makes a ſhow of giving them liberty, and puts the Viſconti in priſon, whom afterwards, by means of Caſtruccio of Lucca, he releaſed; and going to Rome, the better to

diſturb the peace of Italy, he makes Peter Cornara anti-pope, by whoſe reputation and the Viſconti's arms, he hoped to weaken the oppoſing parties of Tuſcany and Lombardy. But Caſtruccio dies, and his death was the principal cauſe of Louis' ruin; for Piſa and Lucca rebelled againſt him, and the Piſans ſent the anti-pope priſoner to the pope in France, and the emperor, deſpairing of the affairs of Italy, returns into Germany. No ſooner was he gone, but John king of Bohemia comes into Italy, invited by the Ghibellines of Breſcia, of which and Bergamo he makes himſelf maſter: and becauſe his coming was by the pope's conſent, though the contrary was pretended, the legate of Bologna favoured him, judging it a good expedient againſt the emperor's return into Italy. By this accident the face of things in Italy were quite changed; for the Florentines and king Robert, ſeeing the legate favoured the attempts of the Ghibellines, became enemies of all thoſe, to whom the legate and king of Bohemia were friends: and without reſpect either to Guelf or Ghibelline drew in many princes into league with themſelves; amongſt whom were the Viſconti, thoſe of de la Scala, Philip Gonzaga of Mantua, thoſe of Carrara, and thoſe of D'Eſte. On which account, the pope excommunicates them all; and the king, doubtful of this league, went home to recruit his army; and returning again with greater force, yet found the enterpriſe very difficult: whereupon terrified, to the great diſpleaſure of the legate, he returned into Bohemia, leaving only Reg-

gio and Modena garriſoned, and recommending Parma to Marſilio, and Peter de Roſſi, who were very potent in that city. He being gone, Bologna entered into the league, and the confederates divided among themſelves four cities, which ſtill remained on the party of the church, agreeing that Parma ſhould be given to thoſe of de la Scala, Reggio to Gonzaga, Modena to the D'Eſte, and Lucca to the Florentines. But in the enterpriſe of taking theſe towns, many broils enſued, which were moſt of them at length compoſed by the Venetians.

It may poſſibly appear ſtrange to ſome, that among ſo many accidents which happened in Italy, we have ſo long deferred to make any mention of the Venetians, they being a commonwealth, both in point of rule and power, to be celebrated before any other principality in Italy. But to take away any ſuch cauſe of wonder; I will go back ſo far, that every one may underſtand, what were its beginnings, and why they deferred, for ſo long a time, the concerning themſelves in the affairs of Italy.

Attila, king of the Huns, beſieging Aquilegia, its inhabitants, after having a long time defended themſelves, deſpairing of their ſafety, carrying off their moveables in the beſt manner they could, ſheltered themſelves upon a great cluſter of uninhabited rocks, at the point of the Adriatic ſea. The Paduans likewiſe ſeeing the fire brought almoſt to their own doors, and fearing after the taking of Aquilegia, Attila would fall likewiſe upon them, all their moveables of moſt value they carried like-

wiſe into the ſame ſea, to a place called the High-bank, whither they ſent likewiſe their wives, children, and old men, keeping only the young men in Padua to defend it. In like manner, thoſe of Montſelice, urged by the ſame fear, came to ſeek ſhelter in thoſe rocks. But Aquilegia taken, and Attila having ſpoiled Padua, Montſelice, Vicenza, and Verona; thoſe of Padua, and the moſt powerful of the others, continued to inhabit thoſe marſhes that were about the High-bank. And in like manner, all the people about that province, which was antiently called Venetia, driven by the ſame accidents, ſought a refuge in thoſe marſhes, and ſo forced by neceſſity, they forſook pleaſant and fruitful places, to go and inhabit in places wild and barren, and wanting all manner of neceſſary conveniencies. But having people enough in an inſtant gathered together, in a very ſhort time they made thoſe places, not only habitable, but delightful; and conſtituting laws and orders among themſelves, amidſt all the ruins and rapines which Italy groaned under, lived quiet and ſecure, and in a ſhort time grew to power and reputation. For beſides the forementioned inhabitants, many of the cities of Lombardy, fleeing from the cruelty of Cleſis, king of the Lombards, took ſanctuary here, which added no ſmall increaſe to this city. In ſo much, that in the time of Pepin king of France, when at the pope's intreaty he came to drive the Lombards out of Italy; in the articles agreed on between them, and the Greek emperor, the duke of Beneventum and the Veneti-

ans paid homage to neither, but in the midſt of both enjoyed their own liberty.

Moreover, as neceſſity had driven them to live among the waters, ſo, no more relying now upon the land, it forced them to bethink themſelves how they might honeſtly live; and thereupon trading with their ſhips to all parts of the world, they ſtocked their city with ſundry ſorts of merchandize, which others wanting, begot a neceſſary and frequent concourſe of people thither. Nor thought they for a good while of any other dominion, but ſuch as might be moſt commodious for their trade; and therefore poſſeſſed themſelves of many ports in Greece and Syria; and upon the paſſages made by the French into Aſia, becauſe they made uſe of their ſhipping, the iſland of Candia was conſigned to them. Whilſt they lived in this manner, their name grew terrible upon the ſea, and reſpected through all Italy, ſo that few controverſies happened, in which they were not made arbitrators. As particularly in this difference which aroſe among the confederates, on account of the territories to be divided amongſt them, who referring the matter to the Venetians, the Viſconti had aſſigned them Bergamo and Berſcia. But in proceſs of time, having added to their dominion, Padua, Vicenza, and Trevigi, and afterwards Verona, Bergamo and Berſcia, and in the kingdom, and Romania, divers other cities; hurried on with a deſire of rule, they grew into ſuch an eſtimation of their power, that they not only appeared terrible to the princes of Italy,

but even to remoter kings. Whereupon all conſpiring againſt them, they had in one day taken from them all that dominion, they had in ſo many years, with ſuch infinite expence of blood and treaſure, been gaining. And though indeed, in theſe latter times, they have regained ſome part, yet having recovered neither that reputation, nor power, they live, as do all the other princes of Italy, at the diſcretion of others.

Benedict the twelfth was now advanced to the papacy; and imagining he had utterly loſt the poſſeſſion of Italy, fearing leaſt Louis ſhould make himſelf lord of it, he determined to make a league with all thoſe which had uſurped the lands that formerly paid obedience to the empire; and to the end he might make them ſtand in fear of the emperor, and bind them the firmer to the defence of Italy, he made a decree, that all the tyrants of Lombardy ſhould poſſeſs the lands they had uſurped, by juſt title. But the pope dying, during this conceſſion, Clement the ſixth confirmed it.

The emperor ſeeing, at the ſame time, with what liberality the pope had given away the lands of the empire, that he might not be leſs liberal than he, in diſpoſing the goods of others, he gave to all the tyrants, that had uſurped upon the territories of the church, all their lands, to hold them by imperial authority; by which means Galeotte Malateſti, and his brethren, became lords of Rimini, Peſaro, and Fano; Antonio of Montefeltiro, of Marca and Urbine; Gentile of Varano, of Cameri-

no; Guido de Polenta, of Ravenna; Sinibald Ordelaffi, of Furli and Ceſena; John Manfredi, of Faenza; Lodovico Aledoſi, of Imola: and beſides theſe, many other territories; ſo that of all the lands belonging to the church, few but had a new prince; which, even till the time of Alexander the ſixth, kept the church very weak. But he, in our times, with the ruin of their deſcendants, reſtored its authority. The emperor when he made this conceſſion was at Trent, and gave it out, that he had a deſign to paſs into Italy, which occaſioned great wars in Lombardy, by which the Viſconti became lords of Parma.

About this time died Robert king of Naples, leaving behind him only two grand-daughters of his ſon Charles, who was dead a little before him; and willed, that the eldeſt, which was called Joan, ſhould inherit the kingdom, taking for her huſband Andrew, ſon to the king of Hungary his nephew. Andrew lived not long with her; for ſhe murdered him, and married another of her couſins, Louis prince of Taranto. But Louis king of Hungary, to revenge his brother's death, entered Italy with an army, and drove Joan and her huſband from the kingdom.

About this time a very memorable thing happened at Rome. One Nicolas di Lozenza, chancellor in the capitol, drove the ſenators out of Rome, and made himſelf, under the title of tribune, head of the Roman commonwealth, and reduced it to the primitive form of government, with ſo much reputati-

on of juſtice and virtue, that not only the adjacent territories, but all Italy ſent ambaſſadors to him: in ſo much that the ancient provinces, ſeeing Rome as it were born again, raiſed up their heads, and ſome moved by fear, others by hope gave honour to it: but Nicolas himſelf, notwithſtanding ſo much reputation, of his own accord, forſook it: for, not having a ſoul large enough to bear ſuch a weight, without being oppoſed by any body, he fled, and went to Charles king of Bohemia, who, by order of the pope, in ſcorn and contempt of Louis of Bavaria, had been elected emperor; and he, to gratify the pope, ſent him Nicolas priſoner.

It followed, not long after, in imitation of this, that one Franciſco Barocegli took upon him the tribuneſhip, and drove out the ſenators; ſo that the pope, as a quick remedy to ſuppreſs him, takes Nicolas out of priſon, and ſending him to Rome, reſtores him to the office of tribune; who, having thus regained the command of the ſtate, put Francis to death. But the Colonneſi becoming his enemies, he was himſelf ſoon after ſlain, and the ſenators reſtored.

Mean time the king of Hungary, having expelled queen Joan, returned into his own kingdom; but the pope, who had much rather have the queen his neighbour, than that king, wrought ſo, that he was content to reſtore her kingdom, provided Louis her huſband would be content with the title of Taranto, and not be called king.

Now came in the year thirteen hundred and fifty,

and the pope thinking good that the jubilee, ordained by pope Boniface the eighth, for every hundred years, ſhould be reduced to fifty, decreed it accordingly; for which kindneſs and benefit, the Romans were content that he ſhould ſend four cardinals to reform the government of that city, and make ſenators according to his pleaſure. The pope likewiſe pronounced Louis of Taranto, king of Naples, for which favour queen Joan gave Avignon, that was part of her inheritance, to the church.

About this time died Luctino Viſconti, whereby John, archbiſhop of Milan, remained ſole lord; who waged great wars with the Tuſcans and his neighbours, by which he ſtill grew more powerful. After him remained of that ſtock his nephews Barnaby and Galeazo. But ſhortly after Galeazo died, leaving John Galeazo his ſon; who divided that ſtate with Barnaby.

In theſe times Charles king of Bohemia was emperor, and Innocent the ſixth pope, who ſent into Italy cardinal Ægidius a Spaniard born, who, by his valour and conduct, not only in Romania and Rome, but alſo throughout all Italy, reſtored the reputation of the church. He recovered Bologna, which the archbiſhop of Milan had taken; forced the Romans to accept one foreign ſenator, which the pope was every year to ſend them; made an honourable peace with the Viſconti; routed and took priſoner Sir John Hawkwood, an Engliſhman, who, with four thouſand Engliſh, made war in Tuſcany, in behalf of the Ghibelines. Whereupon

Urban the fifth ſucceeding to the papacy, and hearing of ſo many victories, he determined to viſit Italy and Rome; whither likewiſe came the emperor Charles, and after ſome few months ſtay, Charles returned to his kingdom, and the pope to Avignon.

After Urban's death was created Gregory the twelfth; and becauſe cardinal Ægidius was dead, Italy turned into its wonted diſorders, by reaſon of the confederacy of divers towns againſt the Viſconti; in ſo much, that the pope ſent firſt a legate into Italy with ſix thouſand Britains, and after coming himſelf in perſon, brought again the court to Rome in the year thirteen hundred and ſeventy-ſix, after ſeventy-one years being in France: but he being dead, Urban the ſixth was created; and ſoon after at Fondi, by ten cardinals, who alleged Urban not to have been duly choſen, was Clement the ſeventh created.

In theſe times the Genoeſe, who, for many years, had lived under the governement of the Viſconti, rebelled; and between them and the Venetians ſucceeded a moſt important war about the iſland Tenedos, by which all Italy was divided. In this war were artillery firſt made uſe of, lately found out by the Germans; and though the Genoeſe had once the better of it, yet the Venetians came off victors at laſt, and by the pope's interviſſion made peace.

In the year thirteen hundred and eighty-one, aroſe a ſchiſm in the church, as we have ſaid before; wherein Joan, queen of Naples, ſided with the ſchiſmatical pope. Upon which Urban cauſed

Charles of Durazzo, deſcended of the blood royal of Naples, to make an attempt upon her crown; who coming took away her kingdom, and poſſeſſing himſelf of it, forced her to flee to France. The king of France, angry hereat, ſends Louis of Anjou into Italy, to recover that kingdom for the queen, drive the pope out of Rome, and ſeat the anti-pope in the chair: but Louis, in the heat of this enterprize, dies; and his people, defeated and broken, returned into France. In the mean time, the pope went to Naples, where he impriſoned nine cardinals, for having adhered to France and the anti-pope: afterwards he grew angry with the king, becauſe he would not make one of his nephews prince of Capua; and diſſembling an indifferency for it, he requeſted Nocera for his dwelling; where afterwards he fortified himſelf, and prepared to deprive the king of his kingdom: whereupon the king took the field, and the pope fled to Genoa, where he put to death thoſe cardinals he had made priſoners. Hence he went to Rome, and to gain himſelf reputation, created eight and twenty cardinals.

About this time Charles, king of Naples, went to Hungary, where he was made king, and ſoon after died, having left his wife, with Ladiſlaus and Joan, her children, at Naples. About this time likewiſe John Galeazo Viſconti, having ſlain Barnaby his uncle, and ſeized the ſtate of Milan, not ſatisfied to have thus made himſelf duke of all Lombardy, he aimed likewiſe at Tuſcany; but when he juſt thought to have ſnatched the dominion of it,

and afterwards have made himſelf be crowned king of Italy, he dies. To Urban the ſixth ſucceeded Boniface the ninth, and Clement the anti-pope dying at Avignon, Benedict the thirteenth was ſet up.

There were in theſe times great multitudes of ſoldiers in Italy, Engliſh, Germans, and Britains, brought thither partly by thoſe princes, who, at ſundry times, had come into Italy, and partly ſent by the popes when they reſided at Avignon. With theſe, for a long time, the Italian princes uſed to bandy one another, till at length ſtarted up Louis of Conio, a native of Romania, who formed a company of ſoldiers, and calling them St. George's band, did, in a ſhort time, by their valour and diſcipline, take away the reputation of the ſtrangers, and planted it among his Italians, of whom afterwards the princes of Italy made uſe when they warred together. The pope having ſome diſſention with the Romans left the city, and went to reſide at Sceſi, where he ſtaid till the approaching jubilee in the year fourteen hundred; at which time the Romans, that the pope, for their advantage, might return to the city, were content to accept a new foreign ſenator of his choice and ſending, and that he ſhould fortify himſelf in the caſtle of St. Angelo. Upon theſe conditions, being returned to Rome, to enrich the church, he decrees that every one, entering into a vacant benefice, ſhould pay a year's revenue to the chamber.

After the death of John Galeazo, duke of Milan, though he left two ſons, John Maria Angelo, and Philip, that eſtate was divided into ſundry parts; and in the troubles that enſued, John was ſlain, and Philip, for ſome time, ſhut up in the rock of Pavia; whence, by the fidelity and valour of the governor, he eſcaped. Amongſt others that ſeized on the cities poſſeſſed by their father was William de la Scala, who, being a baniſhed man, had ſaved himſelf under the protection of Francis of Carrara, lord of Padua, by whoſe help he gained the territory of Verona, which he enjoyed but a ſhort time; for, by the orders of Francis he was poiſoned, and the city ſurpriſed. Whereupon the Vicentines, who, under the banners of the Viſconti, had lived ſecure, fearing now the growing power of the lords of Padua, yielded themſelves up to the Venetians, in whoſe quarrel the Venetians waged war againſt him, and firſt took from him Verona, and then Padua.

Mean time died pope Boniface, and Innocent the ſeventh was elected, whom the people of Rome beſought to render up the fortreſſes, and reſtore their liberty; to which the pope not conſenting, they called unto their aid Ladiſlaus, king of Naples. Afterwards, coming to an agreement, the pope returned to Rome; whence, for fear of the people, he had fled to Viterbo, where he made his nephew Louis, count of Marca. Dying afterwards, Gregory the twelfth was elected, with condition to reſign the papacy, whenever the anti-pope ſhould renounce it; and for encouragement of the cardinals, to make

trial if the church could be re-united, Benedict the anti-pope came to port Veneri, and Gregory to Lucca; where many things were debated, but nothing concluded; ſo that the cardinals of both parties forſook them: and as for the popes, Benedict went into Spain, and Gregory to Rimini.

In the mean while, the cardinals, with the favour of Baldaſſare Coſſa, cardinal and legate of Bologna, call a council at Piſa, where they create Alexander the fifth pope, who preſently excommunicates Ladiſlaus, and inveſts Louis of Anjou with that kingdom, and together with the Venetians, Genoeſe, and Florentines, with Baldaſſare Coſſa the legate, make war upon Ladiſlaus, and take from him Rome: but in the heat of this war Alexander dies, and Baldaſſare Coſſa was created pope, who took the name of John the twenty-third. He, leaving Bologna where he was created, comes to Rome, and there finds Louis of Anjou come with an army out of Provence; who giving battle to Ladiſlaus, overthrew him: but not able to purſue the victory for want of guides, the king in a ſhort time rallies, recruits, and retakes Rome; on which the pope fled to Bologna, and Louis into Provence. The pope ſtill conſulting how to leſſen the power of Ladiſlaus, brought it ſo about, that Sigiſmund, king of Hungary, was elected emperor, whom he encouraged to come into Italy; and had a conſultation with him at Mantua, where they agreed upon ſummoning a general council to re-unite the church, that it might be the better able to withſtand the power of its enemies.

There were at this time three popes, Gregory, Benedict, and John, which made the church feeble, and of no reputation. Conſtance, a city in Germany, was made choice of for aſſembling the council, contrary to the intentions of pope John; and though by the death of Ladiſlaus, the occaſion that made the pope move for a council was taken away, yet now having obliged himſelf, he could not refuſe to go: but having been ſome few months at Conſtance, and too late perceiving his error, he attempted to eſcape; for which he was caſt into priſon, and forced to reſign the papacy. Gregory, one of the anti-popes, likewiſe by public inſtrument renounced it; and Benedict, the other anti-pope, refuſing to do ſo was condemned for a heretic. At laſt, forſaken by his cardinals, he was likewiſe conſtrained to renounce; and the council created Odo of the houſe of the Colonni pope, who was afterwards called Martin the fifth: and thus the church became united, after having for forty years been divided among ſeveral popes.

Philip Viſconti was, as we ſaid before, during theſe troubles in the rock of Pavia: but Fantino Cane dying, who, during the diviſions of Lombardy, had made himſelf lord of Vercelli, Alexandria, Novarca, and Tortona, and gathered together mighty riches; having no children, he left his wife Beatrice his heir, and willed his friends to procure, that ſhe might marry Philip. By which match Philip grown powerful, regains Milan, and all the ſtate of Lombardy: and afterwards as a token of

his gratitude for ſuch great benefits, a trick uſual with all princes, he accuſes his wife of adultery, and puts her to death. However, grown very potent, he begun to bethink himſelf of making war with Tuſcany, and proſecuting the deſigns of his father John Galeazo. Ladiſlaus, king of Naples, had at his death left Joan his ſiſter, beſides his kingdom, a mighty army under the command of the experteſt leaders of thoſe times; among the principal of which was Sforza of Contignuola, reputed in fates of arms very valiant. The queen, to avoid the ſlander of having too much kindneſs to one Pandolfello, a young man ſhe had brought up, took to huſband Jacob della Marcia, a Frenchman, of the royal line, upon condition that he ſhould content himſelf to be called prince of Tarantum, and leave to her both the title and government of the kingdom. But the ſoldiers, as ſoon as he came to Naples, called him king; whereupon grew great variance, and at laſt war, between huſband and wife, and oft-times over came they one another. But at the laſt the queen, remaining ſettled in her eſtate, became an enemy to the pope; whereupon Sforza, to reduce her to neceſſity, and that ſhe might throw herſelf into the boſom of the church, when ſhe leaſt imagined it, deſerts her ſervice: upon which, ſeeing herſelf on a ſudden diſarmed, and knowing no other remedy, ſhe has recourſe for ſuccour to Alphonſo, king of Aragon and Sicily, and adopting him her ſon, entertains for her general Braccio de Montone, a man of no leſs reputation in arms than Sfor-

za, and a ſure enemy of the pope, having uſurped Perugia, and ſome other territories of the church's. Peace afterwards enſued between her and the pope; but Alphonſo fearing leſt ſhe ſhould treat him as ſhe had done her huſband, began to make himſelf maſter of the fortreſſes and places of ſtrength in the kingdom. But ſhe being cunning, prevented him, and fortified herſelf in the rock of Naples. Thus ſuſpicions ariſing between them, brought them at length to open arms; and the queen with Sforza's aſſiſtance, who was returned into her ſervice, overcomes Alphonſo, and drives him from Naples; and withal, cancelling his adoption, adopts Louis of Anjou; whence ſprung up a new war between Braccio, who had embraced Alphonſo's quarrel; and Sforza who favoured the queen.

In the purſuit of this war Sforza paſſing the river Peſcara was drowned, ſo that the queen was once more left defenceleſs, and had been driven out of the kingdom, had ſhe not been aſſiſted by Philip Wiſconti, duke of Milan, who forced Alphonſo to return to Aragon. But Braccio, nothing daunted at Alphonſo's forſaking him, continues the war againſt the queen, and having beſieged Aquila, the pope not judging Braccio's greatneſs at all convenient for the church, takes into his pay Francis the ſon of Sforza, who marches towards Braccio at Aquila, routs and kills him. Braccio left behind him his ſon Odo, from whom the pope took Perugia, and left him the ſtate of Montone. But not long after he was ſlain fighting in Romania for the Florentines,

ſo that, of all that remained of Braccio's commanders, Nicolas Piccinino had the moſt reputation.

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As for the prime eſtates, queen Joan the ſecond held the kingdom of Naples; La Marca, the Patrimony, and Romania, partly paid obedience to the church, and in part were by its vicars or tyrants uſurped; as Ferrara, Modena, and Reggio, by the Eſti; Faenza by the Manfredi; Imola by the Alidoſi; Furli by the Ordelaffi; Rimini and Peſaro, by the Malateſti; and Camerino by thoſe of Varano. In Lombardy, part was ſubject to duke Philip, and part to the Venetians: for all thoſe who held particular territories in it were extinct, except the houſe of Gonzaga, who were lords of Mantua. The Florentines were lords of the moſt part of Tuſcany; only Lucca and Siena lived under their own laws; Lucca under the Guinigi; Siena free. The Genoeſe ſometimes free, ſometimes ſubject to the French kings, or to the Viſconti, lived unregarded, and accounted among the leſſer potentates. All theſe principal potentates fought not with, nor employ-

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ed, any arms of their own. Duke Philip, ſhut up in his chamber, and without ſuffering himſelf to be ſeen, by his own miniſters managed his wars. The Venetians, addicting themſelves to acquiſitions on the land, ſtiffled that reputation that had made them ſo glorious upon the ſea, and following the cuſtom of other Italians, made war under the conduct of others. The Pope, not becoming armour, as being head of religion, and queen Joan being a woman, followed out of neceſſity what others did by election. The Florentines likewiſe ſubmitted to the ſame neceſſity; for having, by their frequent diviſions, exhauſted their nobility; and that commonwealth being fallen into the hands of men bred up in merchandize, they followed the orders and fortunes of others; ſo that the arms of Italy were either in the hands of the leſſer princes, or of men of no eſtate. For the leſſer princes not moved by glory, but that they might live more richly and ſecurely, undertook commands: and the others having been trained up in arms from their youth, not knowing any other trade, ſought by this way to advance themſelves, either to riches, honour, or power.

Amongſt the moſt famous of theſe were Carmignuola, Francis Sforza, Nicolas Piccinino brought up under Braccio, Agnolo of Pergola, Laurence and Micheletto Attenduli, Tartaglia, Giaccopacio, Ceccolino of Perugia, Nicolas of Tolentino, Guido Torello, Antonio of Ponte and Hera, and many others. With theſe were thoſe lords of whom I

have above ſpoken, to whom were joined the barons of Rome, Orſini and Colonneſi, with other lords and gentlemen of the kingdom, and of Lombardy, who, making war their ſubſiſtence, had contracted a kind of league and intelligence together, and reduced it to a perfect trade; with which temporiſing as they pleaſed, it happened moſt in the end, that whoever made war, both parties came off looſers. And in fine, they reduced it to ſuch a degree of baſeneſs, that any ordinary captain that had but the leaſt ſpark of the antient honour revived in him, would, to the wonder of all Italy, who had ſo little ſenſe as to honour them, load them with ſcorn and reproaches. Of theſe ſlothful princes, and theſe vile arms, muſt my hiſtory be full. Before I deſcend to which, it will be neceſſary, as in the beginning I promiſed, to return to make a relation of the original of Florence, that every one may plainly perceive and ſee the poſture in which that city, in thoſe times, ſtood; and by what means, amidſt ſo many troubles, which, for a thouſand years together, befel in Italy, it came into that eſtate and condition.

BOOK II.

AMONG many other great and advantageous orders of antient commonwealths and principalities, which are in theſe our times utterly extinct, was that, by virtue of which, from time to time, many cities and towns were new founded or rebuilt. For nothing can be more becoming the moſt excellent of princes, or the beſt ordered of commonwealths, nor more beneficial to any province, than the building of towns, where men may aſſemble and live together, either for conveniency of defence, or for encouragement of trade and huſbandry; which thoſe people of old might the more eaſily do, becauſe it was their cuſtom to ſend into countries, whether conquered or waſte, new inhabitants, which they called Colonies. For, beſides that, by this courſe and order, new towns were built, it alſo the better ſecured their conqueſts, peopled the waſte places, and, by well diſtributing inhabitants throughout the provinces, maintained them with greater facility; whence it followed, that as men lived in more commodiouſneſs, many provinces the more and more they multiplied, and were ſtill readier to offend, and abler to defend. Which cuſtom being at this day, by the great fault and error of princes and commonwealths, quite left off, the weakneſs,

and ſometimes ruin, of provinces enſues: for this order alone is that, which makes empires ſecure, and countries, as I have ſaid, maintain plentifully their inhabitants. For that colony placed by any prince in a country, newly poſſeſſed by him, is like a watch-tower and guard, to keep the reſt in obedience. Nor without this order can any province, that is full inhabited, ſubſiſt; nor preſerve its inhabitants in any orderly diſtribution: for all places are not alike healthful, or apt for generation; whence muſt ſucceed, that in one place inhabitants will abound, and in another be deficient; and if there cannot be a way found to withdraw them from places, where they are too numerous, and plant them where they want, that province will in a ſhort time grow ruinous; for one part of it, by reaſon of the ſcarcity of inhabitants, will be deſert; and the other, by having too many, muſt needs grow poor. And becauſe nature cannot ſupply this defect, it is neceſſary that induſtry be added; for unhealthful countries have often been made wholeſome, by a multitude of men flocking at an inſtant to inhabit them. For they, by culture, cleanſe the earth; and, by their fires, cleanſe the air: remedies which nature cannot provide.

A demonſtration of which we have in the city of Venice; which, ſeated in a mariſh, and unhealful place, by the great concourſe of inhabitants thither in an inſtant, became ſound and healthful. Piſa likewiſe, by reaſon of the malignity of the air, was never well repleniſhed of inhabitants, till Genoa,

and its ſea-coaſts, were infeſted by the Saracens; which occaſioned that thoſe men, driven from their native countries, fled thither in ſuch ſhoals, as made that city at once populous and powerful. Wherefore this order of ſending colonies failing, conquered countries are, with more difficulty, kept in obedience, waſte lands never planted, nor thoſe that abound eaſed. On which account, many parts of the world, and eſpecially Italy, are become, in reſpect of antient times, deſert: all which has happened, and does happen, becauſe princes have no true deſire of glory, nor commonwealths, any order that may deſerve praiſe. But in old times, by reaſon of theſe colonies, new cities were ſometimes founded, or thoſe already founded grew great.

Among which was the city of Florence, which had its beginning from Fieſole, and its increaſe from colonies. Moſt true it is, as Dante and John Villani have demonſtrated, that the citizens of Fieſole, ſeeing their town ſeated on the very ſummet of the mountain, to the end their markets might be the better frequented, and thoſe, who came thither with their merchandize, be encouraged by conveniency, had appointed their market-place not upon the hill, but upon the plain, between the foot of the mountain and the river Arno. Theſe markets were, as I judge, the firſt occaſion of raiſing any buildings there, the merchants, deſirous, as I ſuppoſe, to have ware-houſes and ſhelter for their commodities, firſt erecting them, and time and trade perfecting them, ſo that at length they become ſub-

ſtantial buildings. And afterwards when the Romans had overcome the Carthaginians, and thereby put Italy into a ſecurity of not being diſturbed by foreign forces, they were extremely multiplied. For men never put themſelves to any ſtraits or difficulties, unleſs when neceſſity conſtrains them to it; ſo that, whereas the fear of war forced theſe willingly to live in ſtrong and mountainous places, that fear once paſt, convenience and advantage draws them more willingly down to inhabit places, more domeſtic and eaſy.

That ſecurity, therefore, which, by the reputation of the Roman name, was ſpread throughout Italy, might eaſily give an increaſe to thoſe habitations already begun, ſo as to reduce them into the form of a town, which, in the beginning of it, was called Arnina. There aroſe afterwards civil wars in Rome, firſt between Marius and Sylla, then betwixt Cæſar and Pompey, and ſoon after between Cæſar's murderers, and thoſe that ſought to revenge his death. From Sylla therefore in the firſt place, and afterwards from thoſe three Roman citizens, who, after revenging Cæſar, divided the empire amongſt them, were colonies ſent to Fieſole, all or the moſt part of which erected their habitations in the plain adjoining to the town already begun, which, with this augmentation, appeared now to be ſo full of buildings, men, and all other civil order, that it might well be reckoned among the cities of Italy. But from whence it derived the name of Flo-

rence, there are various opinions. Some will have it ſo called from Florinus, one of the leaders of the colony.; others will not have it at firſt called Florentia, but Fluentia, becauſe ſeated upon the flood Arno; and adduce Pliny for a witneſs, who ſays, that the Fluentini were near to the flood Arno; which may be falſe, becauſe Pliny's deſign was to ſhew where the Florentines were ſeated, not how they were called; and that word *Fluentini* is very probably corrupted, becauſe Frontinus and Cornelius Tacitus, who wrote almoſt in the times of Pliny, call it *Florentia*, and the people *Florentini*. For even then in the times of Tiberius, it was governed according to the cuſtoms of the other cities of Italy: and Tacitus relates that there came Florentine embaſſadors to the emperor to beſeech him, that the waters of the pools might not be opened upon their country. Nor is it reaſonable to think a city in the ſame time ſhould have two names: I therefore firmly believe it was always called Florence, by whatever occaſion it came to be ſo named.

And ſo likewiſe by what ever occaſion it took its original, it had certainly its birth under the Roman empire, and in the times of the firſt emperors began by hiſtorians to be recorded; and when that empire was afflicted by barbarians, Florence likewiſe was, by Totila, king of the Oſtrogoths, deſtroyed; and after two hundred and fifty years rebuilt by Charlemain: from which time, until the year of Chriſt, twelve hundred and fifteen, it ran the ſame fortune with thoſe who had the command of Italy. The

The firſt of which were the deſcendents of Charlemain, then the Berengarii, and laſtly the emperors of Germany, as in our general diſcourſe we have ſet forth. Nor could the Florentines in thoſe times grow great, or act any thing worthy of memory, by reaſon of the potency of thoſe to whoſe empire they ſubmitted. Notwithſtanding, in the year one thouſand and ten, on St. Romulus's day, a great holy-day among the Fieſolani, they took and razed Fieſole, which either they did by conſent of the emperor, or becauſe in the time, from the death of the one, to the election of the other, more freedom might be uſed. But after that the popes aſſumed more authority in Italy, and the power of the German emperor decayed; all the cities of that province behaved and governed themſelves with leſs reverence to their prince; inſomuch that in the year one thouſand and eighty, and in the time of Henry the third, Italy was reduced between him and the church into a manifeſt diviſion: notwithſtanding all which, the Florentines, until the year twelve hundred and twenty-five, kept themſelves united, obeyed the conqueror, ſeeking no farther empire than their own ſecurity.

But as, in our bodies, the later infirmities happen, the more dangerous and mortal they are; ſo Florence, by ſo much the later it came to be infected with the factions of Italy, by ſo much the more violently was it afflicted with them. The occaſion of the firſt diviſion is very notable, and much cele-

brated by Dante and other writers. I will therefore be very brief in the relation of it.

There were in Florence, among other potent families, the Buondelmonti's and Uberti's; and nigh unto them lived the Amadei and Donati. There was in the family of the Donati a widow very rich, and who had a daughter of an excellent beauty, and moſt charming aſpect, whom, in her private thoughts, ſhe had deſigned to marry to ſignior Buondelmonte, a young gentleman, and head of that family. This deſign of hers, whether through negligence, or out of a belief that it was time enough, ſhe had never diſcovered to any, till it happened that a marriage was treated and agreed on between Buondelmonte, and a daughter of one of the Amadei; at which this lady was mightily diſturbed. Yet hoping that her daughter's beauty might, ere the marriage was ſolemnized, prevent it, ſeeing Buondelmonte coming alone towards her houſe, ſhe gets down to the door, her daughter following her, and as he paſſed by, ſtopping him, I am glad indeed, ſaid ſhe, that you are now marrying, though I had reſerved this daughter of mine purpoſely for you; and therewithal puſhing open the door, let him ſee her. The gentleman, ſtartled at the beauty of the young lady, which was indeed extraordinary, and conſidering that neither her blood nor fortune was inferior to hers to whom he was contracted, kindled immediately in his heart ſuch a fierce deſire of enjoying her, that, forgetful of his word and plighted faith, nor thinking of the injury he did in breaking it,

nor dreading the ſad conſequences might attend on violated promiſes, makes anſwer: Since you, ſays he, have reſerved her for me, I ſhould be moſt ingrateful, whilſt it is yet time enough, if I ſhould refuſe her; and ſo, without any farther delay, he married her.

As ſoon as this buſineſs was known, the family of the Amadei were filled with rage and indignation, and thoſe of the Uberti, being linked to them in affinity, joined now likewiſe with them; and aſſembling together great numbers of their kindred, they concluded that ſuch an injury was not to be born without ſhame and reproach, nor to be revenged with leſs than the death of ſignior Buondelmonte. And though ſome of them did diſcourſe and argue the miſchiefs that might enſue, Moſcha Lamberti told them that he that deliberated many things never concluded any; adding withal that known proverb, 'A thing once done has got a head.' Whereupon they gave the conduct and charge of this murder to Moſcha Lamberti, Stratti Uberti, Lambertuccio Amadei, and Oderigo Fiſanti. Theſe, on Eaſter day in the morning, at the hour of the reſurrection, concealed themſelves in one of the palaces of Amadei, ſituate between the old bridge and church of St. Stephen, and whilſt ſignior Buondelmonte paſſed the river upon a white horſe, careleſly, and like a man that believed ſuch injuries, as ſlighting marriage-vows, were eaſily to be forgotten; he was by them aſſaulted at the foot of the bridge, under a ſtatue of Mars, and ſlain.

This aſſaſſination divided the whole city; and one part joined with the Buondelmonti, and the other with the Uberti. And becauſe thoſe families were very powerful in houſes, caſtles, and men, they ſkirmiſhed many years together, without being able to expel one the other; and their enmities and hatred, though never pacified, were ſometimes appeaſed by truce; and by this means, according to new accidents, ſometimes they were quiet, and at other times enraged.

Vext with theſe troubles was Florence, till the time of Frederic the ſecond, who, becauſe he was likewiſe king of Naples, perſuaded himſelf that he might augment his power over the church: and to eſtabliſh his authority the better in Tuſcany, he favoured the Uberti and their followers, who, ſtrengthened by his countenance, drove out the Buondelmonti. And thus our city, as all Italy had for ſometime before been, was divided into Guelfs and Ghibellines. Nor do I think it impertinent to ſet down the families, that were followers of one and the other faction: thoſe who adhered to the Guelfs were the Buondelmonti, Nerli, Roſſi, Freſcobaldi, Gherardini, Foraboſchi, Bagneſi, Guidalotti, Sachetti, Manieri, Lucardeſi, Chiaramonti, Campiobbeſi, Cavalcanti, Giandonati, Gianfigliazzi, Scali, Guallerotti, Importuni, Boſtichi, Tornaquinci, Vecchietti, Toſinghi, Ariguccii, Agli, Sitii, Adimari, Biſdomini, Donati, Pazzi, Della Bella, Ardinghi, Theobaldi, and Cerchi. Thoſe, who ſided with the Ghibellines, were the Uberti, Manel-

li, Ubriachi, Fifanti, Amadei, Infanganti, Maleſpini, Scholari, Guidi, Galli, Caprardi, Lamberti, Soldameri, Cipriani, Toſchi, Amieri, Palmerini, Migliorelli, Pigli, Barrucci, Cattani, Agolanti, Brunelleſchi, Caponſachi, Eliſei, Abbati, Tedaldini, Guiachi, and Galigari. Over and above, both to one ſide and the other of theſe noble families, many families of the commons joined themſelves, ſo that this peſtilent diviſion infected the whole city.

The Guelfs, thus driven out, retreated into the vale of Arno above the city, where they had many ſtrong fortreſſes, which, in the beſt manner they could, they defended againſt the power and force of their enemies. But Frederic dying, thoſe who were the calm and indifferent men in the city, and who had moſt credit with the people, bethought themſelves that it would be much better to re-unite this city, than by fomenting their diviſions ruin it; and ſo effectually brought matters about, that the Guelfs, waving all injuries, returned; and the Ghibellines, laying aſide all ſuſpicions, received them.

Thus united, they began to think it high time to ſettle a form of liberty, and put themſelves into a poſture of defence before the next emperor gained any power. Upon which they divided the city into ſix parts, and choſe for their government twelve citizens, two for every ſixth part, which they called Autiani, or aldermen, and changed every year. And to remove all occaſions of cavil in giving judgment, they elected two foreign judges,

one of whom they ſtiled the captain of the people, and the other podeſta, or mayor, who were to determine all cauſes happening among the citizens, as well civil as criminal. And becauſe no rule nor government can be ſafe or ſettled till a defence be provided for it, they eſtabliſhed twenty colours for the city, and threeſcore and ſixteen for the country; under which they liſted all the youth, giving ſtrict orders that every one ſhould repair ready armed to his colours, upon any ſummons from his captain, or the aldermen. And they varied their colour according to their arms; for one ſort of enſign had the croſs-bows, and the targets another; and every year at Whitſontide they gave the enſigns to new men, and choſe, and gave command to new heads or chieftains of the whole militia. And to give more majeſty to their army, and knowlege to every one, whither, if repulſed in battle, they might repair for refuge, and being rallied, again make head againſt the enemy, they had a large chariot drawn with two oxen, covered with red, on the top of which was a white and red banner planted. And to give yet farther magnificence and glory to their arms, they had a bell called Martinella, which continually ſounded a month before they drew out their forces, to give warning to the enemies to prepare themſelves for their defence. So much gallantry had men in thoſe days, that whereas now the aſſaulting an enemy by ſurprize, is accounted a prudent and generous act, they thought nothing more vile and reproachful. This bell they likewiſe car-

ried with the army, by which they ſet their watches, and gave ſignals to their centinels.

Upon theſe civil and military conſtitutions did the Florentines found their liberty: nor can it be imagined to what authority and power Florence in a ſhort time attained, not only becoming head of Tuſcany, but accounted among the chief cities of Italy, and had poſſibly riſen to a vaſter height, had not freſh and frequent diviſions ſtill afflicted it.

Under this government lived the Florentines ten years, in which time they forced the Piſtoleſi, Aretini, and Saneſi, to make peace with them; and raiſing their camp from before Siena took Volterra, diſmantled ſeveral cities, and carried away the inhabitants to Florence. All which enterprizes were made by counſel of the Guelfs, who were able to do much more than the Ghibellines, as well becauſe theſe laſt were hated by the people for their proud carriage, when in Frederic's time they governed, as becauſe the others ſided with the church, which was, more than the emperor, then beloved; for with the help of the church they hoped to maintain their liberty, and under the emperor they feared to loſe it.

Yet the Ghibellines, ſeeing their authority decay, could not be quiet, but ſought opportunities to reſume the rule over the ſtate; which they thought was put into their hands, when they ſaw Manfred, ſon of Frederic, become lord of the kingdom of Naples, and that he had much battered the power of the church. Wherefore they held private intel-

ligence with him to regain their own authority; but could not carry things ſo cloſe, but that their practices were diſcovered to the Antiani: whereupon they cited the Uberti, who not only refuſed to obey, but taking arms fortified themſelves in their houſes. At which the people enraged took arms, and, with the help of the Guelfs, made them retreat out of Florence, and with the whole Ghibelline party take ſhelter in Siena. From whence they ſent for aid to Manfred, king of Naples; and, by the induſtry of ſignior Farniata of the Uberti, the Guelfs were, by the forces of that kingdom, defeated near the river Arbia, with ſo dreadful a ſlaughter, that thoſe, who eſcaped from this rout, fled not to Florence, judging their own city loſt, but to Lucca for refuge.

Manfred had made count Giordano general of the army that he ſent to aid the Ghibellines, a man in thoſe times of great reputation in arms. He after the victory goes with the Ghibellines to Florence; and reduced the city abſolutely under the obedience of Manfred, annulling the magiſtracy, and every other order in which there appeared the leaſt form of liberty; which injury, imprudently executed, was entertained with the univerſal hate of the people, ſo that from being enemies to the Ghibellines, they were now become utter abhorrers of them; from whence, in time, their ruin enſued.

The neceſſity of the kingdom calling count Giordano back to Naples, he left the count Guido Novello, lord of Caſentio, vicar royal in Florence.

He calls a council of Ghibellines at Empoli, where it was generally concluded that to preſerve the power of the Ghibelline party in Italy, it was neceſſary to raze Florence, as the only city, likely, having its people all Guelfs, to recover ſtrength to the church party. This cruel ſentence, given againſt ſo noble a city, was neither by citizen nor friend, ſave only ſignior Farniata of the Uberti, oppoſed, who openly, and without any palliation, defended it, telling them, that he would never with ſo much pains have run through ſo many perils, had he had other thoughts than to have lived in his native country, and that he was ſo far now from quitting what he had ſo eagerly ſought after, or refuſing what fortune had thrown upon him, that he would become, rather than ſubmit to it, a fiercer enemy to thoſe that ſhould deſign it, than he had ever been to the Guelfs; and if any one, afraid of his country, ſought its ruin, he doubted not to defend it with the ſame valour, wherewith he had chaſed out the Guelfs.

Signior Farniata was a man of great courage, experienced in war, head of the Ghibellines, and much eſteemed by Manfred, ſo that his authority ended the diſpute, and they began to conſult of other ways, how to preſerve the power in themſelves.

The Guelfs who fled to Lucca, warned by the Lucceſi, fearful of the earl's threats, went to Bologna, whence by the Guelfs of Parma, they were invited againſt the Ghibellines; and by their valour having overcome all their enemies, had their eſtates

given them: ſo that mounted to riches and honour, and hearing that pope Clement had called in Charles of Anjou to take away the kingdom from Manfred, they ſent ambaſſadors to the pope to offer him their aſſiſtances. And the pope not only received them, but gave them his own banner, which the Guelfs ever ſince bore in their arms, and are the ſame ſtill uſed in Florence.

Manfred was ſoon after by Charles deprived of his kingdom, and ſlain; notice of which being arrived among the Guelfs at Florence, their party grew briſker, and the hands of the Ghibellines were weakened. Whereupon they, who, together with earl Guido, governed Florence, judged it requiſite by ſome good offices to gain that people, whom they before had incenſed with ſo many injuries; but thoſe remedies, which, had they been applied in due time and order, might have helped, now when coming from neceſſity, wrought not any good effect, but only haſtened their ruin. Yet, thinking to gain the people's friendſhip, and draw them to their party, they reſtored to them part of thoſe honours, and that authority they had taken from them, and choſe thirty-ſix of the commons of the city, who, with two of the nobles called from Bologna, they appointed to reform the government of the city. Theſe, as ſoon as they met, divided the city into trades, and over every trade appointed a magiſtrate who was to adminiſter juſtice to thoſe under his charge. To every one of theſe companies they appointed a banner, that under that they might parade

when ever there was occaſion of ſervice. Theſe at firſt were twelve companies, ſeven greater and five leſs, afterwards the leſs came to be fourteen, ſo that they were in all, as they are at preſent, twenty-one.

The thirty-ſix reformers proceeding to other matters for the common good, earl Guido, to encourage and pay his ſoldiers, deſigned a tax to be laid on the citizens: in which he found ſo much difficulty, and averſeneſs in the people, that he durſt not attempt, by force, to levy what was already impoſed. And thinking now the government loſt, he ſhut himſelf up with the chiefs of the Ghibellines, and determined to take forceably from the people, what too imprudently he had granted them: and as they were getting their forces into order, the thirty-ſix being aſſembled, the alarm being given, at which greatly frightened, they retired to their houſes, and preſently the banners of the companies were ſpread, and many armed men together about them. And hearing how the earl Guido, with his party, were at St. John's, they rendevouzed at the Holy Trinity, and made John Soldanieri their leader.

The earl, on the other ſide, hearing where the people were, advanced to fight them: nor did the people ſhun the ſkirmiſh, but encountered their enemies near the place now called the lodge of the Tornaquinci, where the earl was repulſed with the ſlaughter of many of his men, and thereupon ſo daunted, that he began to fear leaſt the enemy ſhould, by night, aſſail him; and, finding his men beaten

and out of order, kill him. And ſo ſtrongly did this imagination work in him, that without ſeeking any other remedy, he determined rather to ſave himſelf by flight than fight, and contrary to the advice of the heads of that faction, goes, with all his people, to Prato. But as ſoon as, finding himſelf in a ſecure place, he had caſhiered his fear, he ſaw his error, and would fain have mended it the next morning; and at break of day returns, with all his people, to Florence, to enter that city by force, which his cowardiſe had deſerted. But his deſigns failed him; for that people, who might, perhaps, have found it a hard matter to have forced him thence, with eaſe now kept him out; ſo that with grief and ſhame he goes to Caſentino, and the Ghibellines returned to their villages.

The people thus remaining conquerors, by the encouragement of thoſe who loved the common good, they next conſulted the re-union of the city, and recalled all the citizens, as well Guelfs as Ghibellines, which had been expelled. Thus returned the Guelfs four years after their being driven out, and the Ghibellines were alſo pardoned their late freſh injury, and reſtored to their country, but were ſtill violently hated both by the Guelfs, and the people; for thoſe could not cancel the remembrance of their baniſhment, and theſe too well kept in memory their tyranny, whilſt they lived under their government: ſo that neither one nor the other could have quiet minds.

Whilſt Florence was in this wavering condition,

a rumour was ſpread abroad, that Conradine, nephew of Manfred, was coming with an army out of Germany to the conqueſt of Naples; whereupon the Ghibellines began to ſwell with hopes they might once more regain their authority. The Guelfs, on the other hand, conſulted how to ſecure themſelves from their enemies, and ſent to Charles for aid to defend themſelves from Conradine in his paſſage. The coming of theſe forces from Charles made the Guelfs become inſolent, and ſo affrighted the Ghibellines, that two days before their arrival, without ſtaying to be driven out, they fled. The Ghibellines gone, the Guelfs made new orders for the government of the city, and choſe twelve heads, which ſhould officiate in the magiſtracy for two months, whom they called not Aldermen, but Goodmen. Next to them was a council of eighty citizens, which they called the Credenza; and after them one hundred and eighty commons, thirty for every diviſion; and theſe, together with the Credenza, and the twelve Goodmen, they called the General Council. They ſettled, beſides, another council of one hundred and twenty citizens, nobles, and commons, by which they gave perfection to all things debated in the other council; and which diſpoſed of offices in the commonwealth. This government thus eſtabliſhed, the faction of the Guelfs further fortified themſelves, with magiſtrates and other officers, that they might, with more authority, defend themſelves againſt the Ghibellines, whoſe goods they divided into three parts, the one

of which they aſſigned to the public; the next to the magiſtrates of the diviſions, called captains; and the third to the Guelfs, in recompence of the loſſes they had ſuſtained. The pope likewiſe, to uphold the faction of the Guelfs in Tuſcany, makes king Charles imperial vicar in Tuſcany.

Thus the Florentines, by virtue of this new government, maintained their reputation within, by laws; and without, by arms. In the interim the popes dies; and, after a long diſpute, which laſted two years, pope Gregory the tenth was elected; who, having long reſided in Syria, and being there at the time of his election, unacquainted with the humours of the factions, did not look upon the Guelfs with that eſteem his predeceſſors had done: and therefore, being come to Florence, in his paſſage to France, thought it the office of a good paſtor to re-unite the city; and ſo far contributed to it, that the Florentines were content that the ſyndics or commiſſioners of the Ghibellines ſhould be admitted to mediate their return; and though the matter was concluded upon, yet the Ghibellines were ſo terrified that they durſt not come home; the fault of all which the pope laid upon the city, and in an anger excommunicates them; under which contumacy they lay all the life of that pope; but after his death they were, by Innocent the fifth, abſolved.

Nicolas the third, of the houſe of Orſini, was next exalted to the papacy: and becauſe the popes were always jealous of thoſe who grew potent in

Italy, ſo that though by the church's means and favour they arrived to their greatneſs, yet they always ſought to humble and abaſe them: thence ſprung the original of thoſe many tumults and variety of troubles that enſued; for the fear of one grown ſtrong, made the church interpoſe a weaker, and as ſoon as he was raiſed to power, fearing and feared, they ſtrove again to level him. This made one pope ſnatch the kingdom from Manfred, and give it to Charles; and this made another, grown jealous of him, ſeek his ruin. For now Nicolas the third, moved by this miſtruſtful humour, by the emperor's means, cauſed Charles to be removed from the government of Tuſcany; and in that province, under the imperial commiſſion, was ſent Latinus the pope's legate.

Florence was at this time in a very deplorable condition; for the nobility of the Guelf faction were grown inſolent, braving and fearleſs of the magiſtracy, ſo that every day murders and other violences were committed, and the offenders eſcaped unpuniſhed, being ſtill favoured by ſome one of the nobility. To bridle theſe inconveniences and riots, the heads of the people thought it convenient to call home thoſe who were fled, which gave opportunity to the legate to re-unite the city; on which the Ghibellines returned, and inſtead of the twelve governors they made fourteen, of each party ſeven, who were to rule a year, and be elected by the pope.

Florence ſubmitted two years to this government,

till pope Martin, a Frenchman, held the chair, who reſtored king Charles to all that authority Nicolas had deprived him of: whereupon of a ſudden the factions were again revived in Tuſcany; for the Florentines took arms againſt the emperor's governors; and as well to deprive the Ghibellines of the government, as to bridle the nobility, ordained a new order of government. It was now in the year twelve hundred and eighty-two; and the city companies, ſince magiſtrates were aſſigned them, and banners given them, were grown into great repute; whereupon, by their own authority, they ordained, that inſtead of the fourteen, there ſhould be three created, under the name of Priors, who ſhould have the government of the republic for two months, and might be choſen out of the gentlemen, or commons, provided they were merchants or tradeſmen; reducing afterwards the firſt magiſtrates to ſix, that out of every ward there might be one: which order was continued till the year thirteen hundred and forty-two, that the city was reduced into quarters, and the priors made nine; though in that interval of time by reaſon of ſundry accidents they ſometimes made twelve.

This magiſtracy occaſioned, as in time will appear, the ruin of the nobility, who were by the people, upon various occaſions, firſt excluded; and afterwards, without any manner of reſpect, oppreſſed: to which the nobles themſelves at firſt contributed, by not ſcorning to be united to the people; and each party too eagerly coveting

to ſnatch the government one from the other, they all loſt it. They appointed this magiſtracy a palace for their continual reſidence, it having formerly been the cuſtom for the magiſtrates and councils to aſſemble in the churches. They likewiſe honoured them with ſergeants and other neceſſary miniſters; and though at firſt they only called them priors, yet for the greater magnificence they added afterwards the ſtile Lords, terming them the Signory.

The Florentines were now for a while quiet at home, during which they made war with the Aretini, becauſe they had chaſed out the Guelfs, and in Campaldino they happily overcame them. The city, in the mean time, increaſing in men and riches, they thought fit likewiſe to enlarge their walls, and brought them into the compaſs they now are; for at firſt its diameter was only that ſpace between the old bridge and St. Laurence. War without, and peace within, had almoſt extinguiſhed the factions of Ghibellines and Guelfs; only thoſe humours, naturally incident to all cities, between the nobility and the people, were here inflamed; for the people being deſirous to live according to law, and the nobles ambitious of command, it is not poſſible they can ever agree together. This humour, whilſt the Ghibellines kept them in awe, was not diſcovered; but as ſoon as they were tamed, it broke violently forth, and every day ſome of the people were injured, and the laws and magiſtrates were not powerful enough to vindicate them; for every nobleman with his kindred, friends, and followers, defended

himſelf from the power of the priors and captains.

The heads therefore of the companies, deſirous to remedy this inconvenience, made proviſion, that every Signory, at the entrance into their office, ſhould create a * Gonfalonier of juſtice out of the commons, who ſhould be ready with his ſtandard, and men at arms, to aſſiſt juſtice whenever by the prior or captains he was called.

The firſt choſen was Ubaldo Ruffoli: he brought forth the ſtandard, and pulled down the houſe of Galetti, becauſe one of that family had killed a commoner in France. It was eaſy for the companies of tradeſmen to make this order; for the enmities among the nobles were awake, and they ſlept, never thinking of the proviſion made againſt them, till they ſaw the ſeverity of this execution, which ſtroke a terror into them at firſt; but yet ſoon after they returned to their inſolencies; for ſome of them being always of the lords priors, they had opportunities of hindering the Gonfalonier from doing his office; and beſides that, the accuſer wanting teſtimony could find none durſt bear witneſs againſt the nobles, ſo that in ſhort time Florence fell into the ſame diſorders, and the people ſtill received from the great men the ſame injuries; for the judgment was gentle, and the ſentence ſlowly or never executed. Whereupon the people, not knowing what courſe to take, Giano della Bella of moſt noble blood, but a lover of the liberty of the

* The word ſignifies a ſtandard-bearer.

city, encouraged the heads of the companies to reform the government; and, by his advice, they ordained, that the Gonfalonier ſhould reſide with the priors, and have four thouſand men under his command: they likewiſe incapacitated all the nobles of ſitting among the lords priors, bound all the accomplices and acceſſaries of the crime in the ſame puniſhments with the principal, and made public fame ſufficient teſtimony to give judgment.

By theſe laws, which they called the ordinances of juſtice, the people gained a mighty reputation, and Giano della Bella as great hatred; for the nobles bore him not a little ill will, as the deſtroyer of their power; and the rich citizens envied him, as thinking he had too much authority, which upon the firſt occaſion was fully demonſtrated.

It happened that a commoner was in a ſcuffle ſlain, wherein many nobles were together, and becauſe ſignior Corſo Donati, who was amongſt them, appeared the boldeſt, the crime was attributed to him: wherefore the captain of the people took him. But however matters went, either that Corſo was not guilty, or that the captain durſt not condemn him, acquitted he was; which acquitment highly diſpleaſed the people, ſo that taking arms, they run to Giano della Bella's houſe, and beſought him he would be a means to ſee thoſe laws obſerved, which himſelf had invented. Giano, who deſired that Corſo ſhould be puniſhed, never made them lay down their arms, as many thought he ought to have done, but adviſed them to go to the ſignory

to make their complaint, and desire right to be done; upon which the people enraged, judging themselves wronged by the captain, and slighted by Giano, went not to the signory, but to the captain's palace, and took and sacked it. Which action mightily displeased the citizens; and those, who sought the ruin of Giano, laid all the fault upon him: and so among the lords that composed the succeeding signory, there happening some that were his enemies, he was accused to the captain as a mover of the people to insurrections; and whilst his cause was debating, the people armed themselves, offering to defend him against his enemies the lords. Giano would not make trial of these popular favours, nor commit his life to the magistracy, for he knew the malice of one, and the inconstancy of the other; so that to take away from his enemies an opportunity of injuring him, and from his friends of disobliging their country, he determined to depart, and to give place to envy, and so to free the citizens of the fears they had of him; and leaving that city, which with so much trouble and hazard he had freed from the slavery of the great men, he cast himself into voluntary exile.

After his departure, the nobility began to conceive hopes of recovering their dignity; and judging their misfortune to have accrued by their divisions, uniting themselves, sent two of their number to the signory, whom they believed favoured them, to desire them to be content to moderate, in some measure, the severity of some laws made against them. Which

demand, as ſoon as it was diſcovered, ſtirred up the minds of the people; for they were doubtful leaſt the lords ſhould grant their requeſt; and thus between the deſire of the nobles, and ſuſpicion of the people, arms were, on both ſides, taken up. The nobles made head in three places, at St. John's, in the new market, and in the place called Mozzi; and under three leaders, ſignior Foreſe Adimari, ſignior Vanni di Mozzi, and ſignior Geri Spini. The people alſo, in mighty numbers, flocked to their colours, under the palace of the lords priors, who then dwelt under the church of Proculus: and becauſe the people had ſome ſuſpicion of the ſignory, they deputed ſix citizens to govern with them.

Whilſt both parties thus ſtood prepared for the ſkirmiſh, ſome as well of the people, as of the nobles, together with ſome religious men of great repute, went between them to mediate a pacification, putting the nobles in mind, "That the honours "they were deprived of, and the laws made againſt "them were occaſioned by their own pride, and "haughty carriage, and that now to take arms to "repeal by force, what their own diſcords and ill "managements had cauſed to be enacted a-"gainſt them, could produce no other effect than "the ruin of their country, and the making their "own condition worſe; that the people were ſu-"perior to them both in numbers, riches, and ha-"tred; and the nobility, by which they thought "themſelves ſo far advanced above others, was but "an empty name, when men came to blows; for

" the nobleman's ſword cut no deeper than the " commons, nor could titles defend them againſt " multitudes.

On the other ſide, they repreſented to the people, " That it was not convenient to purſue victories " to extremes, nor wiſdom to force men to deſpair; " for he who hopes no good, fears no ill. That " they ought to conſider that the nobility were the " men, who, in times of war, had honoured that " city, and therefore it was not juſt to perſecute " them with ſo much hatred; and as the nobles " had eaſily condeſcended to be deprived of enjoy- " ing the ſupreme magiſtracy, but could not en- " dure it ſhould be in every one's power to drive " them at pleaſure out of their country, it was " highly convenient to mitigate ſomething of that " unlimited ſeverity, and by ſuch a good office " make them lay down their arms: that it was but " a vain preſumption to attempt the fray in confi- " dence of their numbers, ſince it had been often " ſeen the many had been overcome by the few."

The people were in many minds: ſome would needs fight, as a thing that muſt one day be done, and therefore it was better to do it now, than to ſtay till their enemies were ſtronger; alleging, that if they could believe that the mitigation of the laws could content the nobles, it would do well to mitigate them: but their pride was ſuch, that they would never be at quiet till they were forced to it. Others, wiſer and more peaceably inclined, were of opinion, that the moderating of the laws was of no great im-

portance, but coming to action of utmoſt concern to both; inſomuch that their opinion prevailed, and it was enacted that in accuſations againſt noblemen, proof by witneſſes was neceſſary. Laying hereupon down their arms, both parties ſtill remained full of ſuſpicion, and fortified themſelves with caſtles and arms. The people, in the mean while, reformed the government, reducing it to a leſſer number, out of an opinion they had, that thoſe lords were favourers of the nobility. The chief of thoſe who remained were Mancini, Magalotti, Altoviti, Peruzzi, and Cerretani.

The ſtate thus ſettled, for the greater magnificence and ſecurity of the lords, in the year twelve hundred and ninety-eight they founded their palace, and made a court of the houſes formerly belonging to the Uberti. At the ſame time likewiſe they began to build the public priſons; all which buildings were in few years finiſhed. Never was the city in a more magnificent or happy condition than now, abounding in men, buildings, and reputation; the trained-bands of the city being thirty thouſand, and thoſe of the country ſeventy thouſand; and all Tuſcany, partly as ſubjects, partly as friends, obeyed them. And though between the nobles and the people there ſtill remained ſome grudge and jealouſy, it never produced any malignant effects, but they lived in peace and union; which happy tranquillity, had it not been diſturbed by new enmities within, need have feared nothing from abroad; for the city ſtood then upon ſuch terms, as made it fearleſs ei-

ther of the emperor, or its own exiles, and might vye in power with any other ſtate in Italy. But thoſe miſchiefs, which could not be done from abroad, were by inteſtine diſſentions executed.

There were in Florence two families, the Cerchi and the Donati, both of them in nobility, riches, and men, very powerful. Between theſe, being neighbours, ſome diſguſts had happened, but not ſo great as to bring them to extremities, and poſſibly they might have been quite extinguiſhed, had not the ill humours by other accidents been augmented. Among the prime families of Piſtoia was that of the Cancellieri: it happened that Lori, ſon of William; and Geri, ſon of Bertaccio, all of that family, being at play, fell to words; and paſſing farther, Geri happened to receive a ſlight wound; which accident much diſpleaſed William, who imagining by humility to remove the ſcandal increaſed it: for he commanded his ſon to go to the father of the wounded gentleman, and aſk him pardon. Lori obeys his father. But this act of ſo much humanity ſweetned not at all the bitter mind of Bertaccio; but cauſing his ſervants to lay hold on Lori, to add the more contempt to the action, he cauſed his hand to be cut off upon the dreſſer: withal adding, "Go back to thy fa-"ther, and tell him that wounds are to be ſalved "with ſteel, and not with words." This barbarous cruelty ſo much enraged ſignior William, that he made all his friedns take arms to revenge it; and Bertaccio armed likewiſe to defend himſelf; and not

only that family, but the whole city of Piſtoia, was divided. And becauſe the Cancellieri were deſcended of ſignior Cancellieri, who had two wives, whereof one was named Biancha, which ſignifies white, thoſe deſcended of her called themſelves Bianchi; and the other, to take a name contrary to that, called themſelves Neri, which ſignifies black. There happened many fatal bickerings between them, with great ſlaughter of men, and ruin of houſes: and not finding a way to reconciliation among themſelves, weary of doing miſchief, and deſirous to put an end to their diſcords, or by dividing others with them, increaſe them, they came to Florence, and the Neri having had acquaintance with the Donati, were by them favoured; whereupon the Bianchi, that they might have a powerful prop to uphold them againſt the Donati, had recourſe to Veri de Cerchi, a man no way, nor in any quality, inferior to Corſo Donati.

This humour, thus brought from Piſtoia, reviv-ed and increaſed the antient hatred between the Cerchi and Donati, which was already ſo apparent, that the lords Priors, and many good citizens were every minute in doubt leſt they ſhould come to arms, and with themſelves divide the whole city. They therefore addreſſed themſelves to the pope, beſeeching him, by his authority, to apply that remedy, to theſe growing humours, which it was beyond their power to do. The pope ſends for ſignior Veri, and charges him to make peace with the Donati; at which he ſeems much to wonder, tell-

ing him that he had no enmity with them, and becauſe making peace preſuppoſes a war, he did not underſtand how a peace was to be made, ſince there was no war between them. Veri therefore returning from Rome without any other concluſion, the humours ſwelled to ſuch a height, that they were ready upon any ſlight occaſion, as ſoon afterwards they did, to break out.

It was in the month of May, when on holy-days they uſe public ſports, and dancing in the ſtreets of Florence; and ſome young gentlemen, as well of the Donati as their friends, being on horſe-back, ſtood to ſee ſome women dance near the place of the holy Trinity; whither ſoon after came ſome of the Cerchi, accompanied with many other gentlemen; and not knowing the Donati that were before them, but deſirous to ſee the ſport, ſpurred up their horſes amongſt them, and a little crouded upon them: at which the Donati, thinking themſelves affronted, drew their ſwords, and the Cerchi bravely anſwered them, and after many wounds given, and taken on both ſides, they parted.

This diſorder was of very ſad conſequence; for the whole city, as well people as nobility, was divided; and the parties took the names of Bianchi and Neri: the heads of the Bianchi were the Cerchi, and to them adhered the Adimari, the Abbati, part of the Toſinghi, Bardi, Roſſi, Freſcobaldi, Nerli, and Mannelli; all the Mozzi, Scali, Gerrardini, Cavalcanti, Maleſpini, Boſtichi, Giandonati, Vecchieti, and Arriguezzi. To theſe

many families of the people, and all the Ghibellines in Florence adhered; ſo that for the mighty number that followed them, they had, as it were, the whole government of the city. The Donati, on the other ſide, were chief of the Neri, and with them joined that part of the above-mentioned families which followed not the Bianchi; beſides all the Pazzi, Biſdomini, Manieri, Bagueſe, Tornaquinci, Spini, Buondelmonti, Gianfigliazzi, Bruncelleſchi. Nor did this contagion only infect the city, but the whole country likewiſe was divided.

Whereupon the captains of the diviſions, and whoever was a lover of the Guelfs, and the republic, began to fear leſt this new diviſion ſhould, together with the ruin of the city, revive the power of the Ghibellines; and ſent again to pope Boniface to conſult of a remedy, unleſs he would have that city, which had always been the buckler of the church, ruined or turned Ghibelline. Whereupon the pope ſends Matthew d' Aquaſparta, cardinal Portueſe, legate to Florence; who becauſe he found the Bianchi high and ſtomackful, for that they being the greater party ſtood leaſt in awe, he goes in anger from Florence, and excommunicates it; ſo that he left the city in a greater confuſion than it was before his coming thither. And now all men, having heart-burnings in their breaſts, it happened that at a funeral where there were a great many of the Cerchi and Donati, they came to words, and thence to blows, though this happened to be only

a tumult, and ſoon appeaſed. But every one being returned to their houſes, the Cerchi reſolved to aſſault the Donati, and with great numbers went to ſearch them out; but by the valour of ſignior Corſo they were repulſed, and many of the people wounded.

The city was all in arms; the lords and the laws were trampled on by the fury of the ſtronger; the wiſeſt and beſt citizens lived in jealouſy and fear: the Donati, on their part, feared the moſt, becauſe they could do the leaſt; therefore to provide the beſt they could for themſelves, Corſo aſſembling with the other heads of the Neri, and the captains of the diviſions, agreed to the requeſt of the pope, that one of the blood-royal might be ſent to reform Florence; hoping, by that means, to overcome the Bianchi. This aſſembly and debate was told to the priors, and by the adverſe party, aggravated as a conſpiracy againſt the liberty of the city; and both parts being in arms, the ſignory, of whoſe number Dante then was one, by his counſel and prudence took heart, and armed the people, to whom many out of the country joining, they at length forced the heads of both parties to lay down their arms, and confined Corſo Donati, and many that took part with the Neri: and to ſhow that they were not partial in judgment, they likewiſe confined ſome of the Bianchi; all which ſoon afterwards, upon their pretences, and fair promiſes of future amendment, they releaſed. Signior Corſo, with his adherents, becauſe they thought the pope favour-

able to their party, went to Rome, and the requeſts they had before made in writing to the pope, they now, by word of mouth, renewed.

There happened then to be in the court of Rome, Charles of Valois, brother to the king of France, who was invited by the king of Naples to make an invaſion of Sicily. The pope therefore thought convenient, being ſo earneſtly preſſed by the expulſed Florentines fled thither, that till the ſeaſon were more proper for the ſea, he ſhould go to Florence. Charles accordingly comes, and though the Bianchi, who now ru ed all, were jealous of him, yet being head of the Guelfs, and ſent by the pope, they durſt not obſtruct his coming; but to engage his friendſhip, gave him authority to diſpoſe of the city at his pleaſure. Charles, having this authority, arms all his friends and confederates, which created ſuch a jealouſy in the people, that he deſigned to deprive them of their liberty, that every one took arms, and ſtood in the entrance of their houſes, to be in readineſs, if Charles made the leaſt motion.

The Cerchi, and the heads of the Bianchi, having been ſometime heads of the republic, had by their proud behaviour made themſelves univerſally hated; which encouraged Corſo, and others fled thence with him, to return to Florence, the rather becauſe they were favoured by Charles, and the captains of the wards. And when the city, out of fear of Charles, was all in arms, Corſo with his fled friends, and many others that followed him, entered Florence without any impediment: and

though Veri de Cerchi was adviſed and encouraged to oppoſe him, yet he would not do it, ſaying that the people of Florence, againſt whom he came, ſhould chaſtiſe him. But it fell out quite contrary; for he was received and not chaſtiſed by them; and ſignior Veri, to ſave himſelf, conſtrained to flee. For Corſo, as ſoon as he had forced the gate of Pinti, drew up at great St. Peter's, a place near to his houſe, and having got together multitudes of friends and people, who, deſirous of novelty, flocked to him, firſt cleared the priſons of all that either upon private or public accounts were impriſoned; then he forced the lords to return as private perſons to their houſes, and chuſe new ones from among the people, favourers of the Neri; and, for five days, employed his forces in ſacking the houſes of the principal men of the party of the Bianchi.

The Cerchi, and other chiefs of their faction, were gone out of the city, and retired into ſtrong places, ſeeing Charles againſt them, and the moſt part of the people their enemies. And whereas before they would never follow the advice of the pope, they were forced to flee to him for ſuccour, repreſenting to him that Charles was come to breed diviſion, and not to unite Florence. Whereupon the pope ſent again his legate, Matthew d' Aquaſparta, who made peace between the Cerchi and Donati, and confirmed it by new alliances and inter-marriages; but being deſirous that the Bianchi ſhould likewiſe have ſhare in office and command; the Neri, who had got the government into their hands,

would not admit it; upon which he departed from Florence with as little ſatisfaction, and no leſs anger than before, leaving the city for its diſobedience excommunicated. So both factions continued ſtill in Florence, and both diſcontented.

The Neri, ſeeing their enemies ſo near them, were angry and jealous, leſt, with their ruin, they ſhould ſnatch again from them their honours and authority. To which anger and natural jealouſy, they added new injuries. Signior Nicolas Cerchi, with many of his friends, going to his eſtate in the country, was by Simon, ſon of Corſo Donati, met at the African bridge, and aſſaulted. The fray was bloody, and doleful to both ſides in the end; for Nicolas was ſlain, and Simon died next night of his wounds. This ſcuffle diſturbed the city afreſh, and though the party of the Neri were moſt in the fault, yet were they by thoſe, who then had the government, ſtill defended. And before judgment was given, there was a conſpiracy diſcovered to have been held by the Bianchi with Peter Feranti, baron of Charles's, with whom they had plotted to be reſtored to the government: which thing came to light, by letters written from the Cerchi to him; though it was the opinion of many that the letters were counterfeit, and produced by the Donati to varniſh over that diſrepute they had got by the death of Nicolas. However the Cerchi were all confined, together with all their followers of the faction of the Bianchi, amongſt whom was Dante

the poet, their goods put to ſale, and their houſes razed to the ground. Thoſe that ſaved themſelves, with many Ghibellines that adhered to their party, went up and down to ſundry places, with new troubles ſeeking out new fortunes. And Charles, having done what he came to do at Florence, returned to the pope to purſue his enterprize againſt Sicily: in which he proved neither wiſer nor honeſter than he had been at Florence; ſo that in the end, with diſgrace and the loſs of moſt of his army, he returned into France.

Florence, after Charles's departure, lived very quietly; only ſignior Corſo was unquiet within himſelf, becauſe he held not that degree in the city he thought becoming him. But on the contrary, the government being popular, he beheld the adminiſtration of affairs committed to many much his inferiors; and incited by theſe troubleſome paſſions, he caſt about how by an honeſt pretence he might juſtify the diſhoneſty of his heart; calumniating many citizens who had had the adminiſtration of the public money, as if they had converted it to their private uſe, and propoſing it as convenient to find them out and puniſh them. This opinion was ſeconded by many, who had deſires like his, to which was added the ignorance of many, who believed Corſo moved to this out of love to his country.

On the other ſide, the wronged citizens, having the favour of the people, defended themſelves, and after many diſputes, to blows they came. On one ſide were ſignior Corſo, and Lottieri, biſhop of

Florence, with many nobles and ſome commons; and on the other ſide, the ſigniory, with the moſt part of the people; ſo that the ſcuffle was in many parts of the city at once. And the ſigniory, ſeeing what hazard they were like to run, ſent to Lucca for aid, and preſently all the people of Lucca were come to Florence; by whoſe authority things were for the preſent compoſed, the tumults quieted, and the people ſettled in their ſtate and liberty, without any puniſhment of the authors of the ſedition.

The pope had heard of theſe tumults in Florence, and ſent his legate Nicolas de Prato thither; he being a man both for his birth, degree, learning, and manners, of great reputation, gained preſently ſo much credit, that they gave him authority to reform and ſettle the ſtate as he pleaſed. And becauſe he was a native Ghibelline, he deſigned to reſtore thoſe who were baniſhed. But he firſt thought fit to gain the commons, and therefore reſtored the ancient companies of the people; which order much increaſed their power, and quelled that of the great men. Thus the legate, thinking he had obliged the multitude, deſigns next to reſtore thoſe who were fled, and after trying many ways, was not only unſucceſsful in them all, but fell under ſuch jealouſies of thoſe that governed, that he was forced to depart, and full of indignation returned to the pope, leaving the city of Florence in confuſion, and excommunicated.

Nor was it only with one evil humour, but with

many, that this city was infeſted, there being at one time the factions of the nobles and the people, of the Guelfs and Ghibellines, and of the Banchi and Neri. And now again was the whole town in arms, and continual ſkirmiſhes happened.

The firſt that moved theſe new broils were the Medici, and the Junii, who in favour of the rebels had diſcloſed themſelves to, and joined with, the legate: ſo that there was now fighting in many parts of Florence at once. And to add to theſe miſeries, there happened a fire, which broke out firſt in the gardens of St. Michael in the abbot's houſe, and from thence ſpread itſelf into the houſes of the Caponſacchi, and burnt them, together with the houſes of the Mozzi, the Aniceri, the Toſchi, Cipriani, Lomberti, and Cavalcanti, and all the new market; from thence it got into the ſtreet, called Porta Sancta Maria, and burnt it all, and wheeling about by the old bridge, burnt the houſes of the Gerardini, Pulci, Amadei, and Lucardeſi, and with theſe ſo many more, that the number amounted to ſeventeen hundred, or more. It was the opinion of many, that in the heat of the ſcuffle this fire happened by chance: but others affirmed, that it was kindled by the abbot Neri, prior of St. Peter Scarraggio, a diſſolute fellow, given over to all wickedneſs, who, ſeeing the people engaged in fighting, deſigned to act a villany, not to be remedied whilſt men were otherways employed; and that this miſchievous intent might have the better ſucceſs, he threw the fire into his conſort's houſe. It was in

the year thirteen hundred and four, when Florence was thus afflicted with fire and ſword.

Signior Corſo only, among ſo many tumults, was not in arms, judging he might, by keeping quiet, the eaſier come to be made umpire between both parties, when weary of fighting they would incline to an agreement: yet they laid down their arms, more becauſe they were glutted with miſery, than that they had any deſire of union; the only event was, that the rebels did not return, and that the party favouring them had the worſt of it. The legate returned to Rome, and hearing of theſe new troubles, perſuaded the pope, that if he would unite Florence, he muſt ſend for twelve of the principal citizens to come to him, whereby what nouriſhed the miſchief, being removed, it would be the eaſier to extinguiſh it. This counſel the pope accepted, and the citizens ſummoned, obeyed; among whom was ſignior Corſo Donati: after whoſe departure, the legate let thoſe who were fled out of the city know, that now was their time, whilſt the Florentines were deprived of their chiefs, to return; whereupon the rebels, making all the force they could, came to Florence, and entering by the wall not yet quite finiſhed, marched as far as St. John's place.

It was remarkable, that thoſe who but a little before had fought for their return, when unarmed, they entreated to be reſtored to their country, now ſeeing them return armed, and endeavour to poſſeſs the city by force, ſo much did they eſteem com-

mon good, before private friendſhip, took arms againſt them, and uniting themſelves with the reſt of the people, forced them to return from whence they came. Theſe people loſt their deſign by leaving part of their men at Laſtra, and not ſtaying for Toloſetto Uberti, who with three hurndred horſe was to come from Piſtoia; for they thought celerity rather than ſtrength was to get them the victory: ſo it often happens in enterprizes, that delay takes away the opportunity, and haſte the power.

The rebels gone, Florence relapſed into its old diviſions; and to take away the authority of the family of the Cavalcanti, ſeized by force on the Stinche, a caſtle ſituate in the Vale de Greve, antiently belonging to that family; and becauſe thoſe that were taken in it were the firſt that were put into the priſons newly erected, they called thoſe priſons from the name of the place whence they were brought, the Stinche; which name they to this day retain. The heads of the republic reſtored likewiſe the companies of the people, and gave them the banners, under which the companies of the trades firſt drew together, and they entitled the chiefeſt of them ſtandard-bearers of the companies, and colleagues of the lords, and appointed them to aſſiſt the ſignory againſt tumults with their arms, and in peace with their council; to the two antient rectors or governors they joined an executioner, who, together with the Gonfalonieri, or ſtandard-bearers, were to proceed againſt the inſolencies of the great men.

In the mean time the pope died, and ſignior Corſo and the others were returned; and the city might have lived in peace, had it not been afreſh diſturbed by the reſtleſs mind of Corſo. This man, to gain himſelf reputation, was always contradictory to whatever was the opinion of thoſe in authority, and ſtill made his own authority comply with whatever he ſaw was the inclination of the people; and of all diſſentions and novelties he was the head, and to him for aſſiſtance run all thoſe who deſired to obtain any extraordinary thing. Wherefore many citizens of repute hated him; and this hatred increaſed in ſuch manner, that the party of the Neri fell into open diviſion; for Corſo valued himſelf on his private power and authority, and his adverſaries on the commonwealth's. But ſuch was the awe his preſence carried with it, that every one feared him: however, to lift him from the people's favour they took a ſure and ready courſe, which was by ſpreading abroad that he deſigned to uſurp the tyranny; and this it was the eaſier to perſuade them to, becauſe his courſe of life exceeded all moderate and civil bounds; which opinion increaſed, becauſe he now married a daughter of Uguccio of Fagiuola, head of the Ghibellines and Bianchi, and very powerful in Tuſcany.

As ſoon as this marriage came to be known, it gave ſuch heart to his adverſaries, that they took arms againſt him, and the people were ſo far from defending him, that moſt of them joined with his enemies. The heads of theſe adverſaries were Roſſa

della Toſa, Pazzini de Pazzi, Geri Spini, and Berto Brunelleſchi. Theſe with their followers gathered together in arms before the palace of the lords, and by their order put in an accuſation to Peter Branca, captain of the people, againſt ſignior Corſo, as a man who, by the aſſiſtance of Uguccio, ſought to make himſelf tyrant; upon which he was cited, and preſently, for contempt, adjudged a rebel. Nor was there any longer time ſpent between the accuſation and the ſentence than the ſpace of two hours. Judgment thus given, the lords, with the company of the people, with banners flying, went to find him out.

Corſo, the mean while, though he ſaw himſelf forſaken by many of his own friends, ſentence given againſt him, the lords with their authority, and multitudes of his enemies coming to aſſault him, was not at all daunted, but fortified himſelf in his houſe, hoping that Uguccio, whom he had ſent to, would come and relieve him. His houſe, and all the ways to it, were barricadoed by him, and ſo well defended by the friends that adhered to him, that though the people were ſo numerous, they could not overcome them; however, the ſkirmiſh was hot, and many killed and wounded on both ſides; and the people, ſeeing they could not, by open ways, overcome him, poſſeſſed themſelves of the next adjoining houſes, and by breaking through places not at all miſtruſted, entered his houſe.

Corſo, now ſeeing himſelf encompaſſed with enemies, and truſting no longer to Uguccio's help,

reſolved, ſince he deſpaired of victory, to try if he could ſave himſelf. Whereupon he, and Gerrardi Bonduci, with many others of his valiant and faithful friends, charging furiouſly upon the people, forced their way through them, and got out of the city by the gate of the croſs. However, they were purſued by ſo many, that Gerrardi was on the African bridge by Boccacio Cavicciulli ſlain, and ſignior Corſo, by ſome Catalonian horſe in the ſignory's pay, at Rovezano overtaken, and made priſoner; but in his return towards Florence, that he might not be gazed upon by his victorious enemies, or perhaps torn in pieces by them, he ſuffered himſelf to fall off his horſe, and was by one of thoſe that had the guard of him diſpatched. His body was taken up by the Monks of St. Salvi, and, without any pomp, buried.

Such was the end of ſignior Corſo, from whom his country and the Neri had received many good and evil offices, who had he had a more quiet mind, his memory might have been more happy; yet deſerves he to be enrolled among the braveſt citizens our city can boaſt off. It is true, his factious and reſtleſs ſpirit made both his country and his confederates forbear conferring honours on him that had elſe been his due, and proved at laſt both the cauſe of his own death, and of much miſchief to them. Uguccio, coming to aid his ſon-in-law, hearing at Remoli how he was oppreſſed by the people, and judging he could not do him any good, that he might not do miſchief to himſelf, returned back.

Signior Corſo being dead, which happened in the year thirteen hundred and eighth, the tumults ceaſed, and the city lived in peace till ſuch time as they heard that the emperor Henry was coming into Italy, with all the Florentine rebels, whom he had promiſed to reſtore to their country: whereupon the heads of the commonwealth thought fit to leſſen the number of their enemies, and to that end determined that all, who had not by ſpecial nature been baniſhed, ſhould be recalled, ſo that there remained ſtill excluded almoſt all the Ghibellines, and ſome of the Bianchi, among which were Dante Alighieri, the children of Veri de Cerchi, and Giano de Bella. They ſent, moreover, for aid to Robert, king of Naples; and ſeeing they could not obtain it as friends, they gave him the city for five years, on condition that, with his forces, he ſhould defend it. The emperor coming, took the way of Piſa, and ſo by the ſea-coaſt to Rome, where he was crowned, in the year thirteen hundred and twelve; and afterwards determining to tame the Florentines, comes by the way of Perugia and Arezzo to Florence, and ſits down at the monaſtery of St. Salvi, within a mile of the city, where he ſtaid fifty days without doing any thing; inſomuch that deſpairing of diſturbing the government and ſtate of that city, he goes to Piſa, where he make an agreement with Frederic, king of Sicily, to invade the kingdom of Naples; but having marched thither with his army, in the height of his hopes of victory, and

and king Robert's fears of ruin, at Bonevento he dies.

It happened a while afterwards that Uguccio de Fagiuola becomes lord of Piſa, and preſently after of Lucca, where he was put in by the Ghibeliine party; and now, with the help of theſe two cities, did great damage to his neighbours; which the Florentines, to free themſelves from, deſired of king Robert that his brother Peter might command their forces: whilſt Uguccio, on the other ſide, ceaſed not to enlarge his dominion, and by force or ſtratagem had in the vale of Arno, and in the vale of Nievole, taken many towns and caſtles. And ſitting now down with his forces before Monte Catini, the Florentines thought it neceſſary to relieve it, and not let this fire conſume their whole territory. Raiſing to that end a great army, they marched to the vale of Nievole, where they engaged with Uguccio, and after a ſharp encounter were routed. Here died Peter the king's brother, whoſe body could never be found; and with him more than two thouſand men were ſlain: nor had Uguccio's ſide any cauſe to rejoice at the victory, he loſing his ſon, and many of the chief leaders of his army.

The Florentines after this loſs ſtrengthened their towns within, and the king ſent them for their general the count de Andrea, whom they called the new count, by whoſe deportment, or becauſe it is natural to the Florentines, that all governments grew irkſome to them, and every accident divides the city, notwithſtanding the war they had with

Uguccio, the city was again divided into friends and enemies to the king. The chief of the enemies were Simon della Toſa, the Magolotti, with ſome of the populacy that were ſuperior to others in the government. Theſe ſent into France and Germany to levy men, and fetch captains, that at their arrival they might drive out the earl, that was governor for the king. But as fortune would have it, they could get none; yet they left not off, but ſeeking aſſiſtance every where, though they could not from France nor Germany have any, they prevailed at Agobbio; and having firſt driven out the count, brought in Lando of Agobbio, and made him Bargello or executor, giving him the ampleſt power that ever any before had enjoyed over the citizens. This was a ravenous and cruel man, who, with his ſoldiers, marched up and down the country, putting to death one or other at the will and pleaſure of thoſe that elected him; and grew at laſt ſo inſolent, that he ſtamped falſe money of the Florentine coin, whilſt no-body durſt queſtion or oppoſe them; to ſuch a height had the diſcords of Florence raiſed him! a great, it is true, but miſerable city, whom neither the rememberance of their paſt diviſions, nor the fear of Uguccio, nor the authority of a king, could keep conſtant.

The king's friends, and oppoſers to Lando and his followers, were the nobles, or wealthy commons, and all Guelfs; yet becauſe their adverſaries had the government in their hands, they could not, without great danger, diſcover themſelves; but having de-

termined to free themſelves from ſo vile and tyrannical oppreſſion, they writ privily to king Robert, that he ſhould make count Guido of Butifolle his lieutenant at Florence; which the king gave preſent orders for, and though the lords were the king's oppoſers, yet the adverſe party durſt not, becauſe of the excellent qualities of the earl, refuſe him. Yet he had not much authority, for the ſignory and ſtandard-bearers of the companies favoured Lando and his party.

Whilſt they lived under theſe afflictions in Florence, the daughter of Albertus, emperor of Germany, came to Florence in her way towards Naples, whither ſhe was going to Charles, the ſon of Robert, her huſband. She was very honourably received by the king's friends; who complained to her of the ſad condition of the city, and the tyrannies of Lando; inſomuch that before ſhe parted, by her means, and thoſe of the king's party, the citizens united, and Lando was deprived of his authority, and, glutted with blood and plunder, ſent back to Agobbio. In the reformation of the government, the ſignory was for three years prorogued to the king; and becauſe there were already ſeven lords elected of thoſe of Lando's faction, they choſe ſix of the king's, and ſome magiſtracies were held with only thirteen lords, but afterwards according to cuſtom, they brought them again to fourteen.

In or about this time the ſignories of Lucca and Piſa were taken from Uguccio, and Caſtruccio Caſtruccani, citizen of Lucca, became lord of them;

who being a young man, bold and couragious, and withal fortunate in his undertakings, in a very ſhort time became head of all the Ghibellines in Tuſcany. Whereupon the Florentines, laying aſide their civil diſcords, conſulted how to ſtop the growth of Caſtruccio's greatneſs, and defend themſelves againſt the power he had already attained to: and becauſe the ſignory would better deliberate and weigh all affairs, and with greater authority execute them, they choſe twelve citizens, whom they called Goodmen, without whoſe counſel and conſent the lords could do nothing of importance. The time of the government aſſigned to king Robert was now expired, and the city becoming prince over itſelf, reeſtabliſhed the antient and uſual governors and magiſtrates: the great fear they ſtood in of Caſtruccio kept them united, who, after many feats done by him againſt the lords of Lunigiana, beſieged Prato. Whereupon the Florentines, reſolving to relieve it, ſhut up their ſhops, and the people marched out twenty thouſand foot, and fifteen hundred horſe; and to weaken Caſtruccio, and ſtrengthen themſelves, they made proclamation, that whatever rebel Guelf ſhould come to the relief of Prato, he ſhould, after that action was over, be reſtored to their country; upon which above four thouſand rebels came in.

This ſo great an army, ſo quickly brought to Prato, daunted Caſtruccio in ſuch manner, that without truſting to the fortune of a fight, he retreated towards Lucca: whereupon grew a diffe-

rence in the Florentine camp, between the nobles and people. Theſe would have followed him, and by falling on his rear have deſtroyed him: thoſe would return, alleging that it was enough to have put Florence in danger to deliver Prato, which was well enough to be born with, whilſt they were conſtrained by neceſſity, but now that that was taken away it was not at all convenient to tempt fortune, where the loſs might be great, and the advantage could be but ſmall. Thus, they not agreeing, the buſineſs was referred to the determination of the lords, who met in their council with the ſame difference between people and lords; which being underſtood in the city, the rabble tumultuouſly aſſembled in the great place, uttering many reproachful words againſt the nobles, till they for fear conſent to the purſuit of Caſtruccio; but the reſolution being taken too late, and unwilling, the enemy had time to ſecure himſelf in Lucca.

This diſorder ſo enraged the people againſt the lords, that they would not permit their word paſſed by proclamation to the rebels, though done by their own order and conſent, to be performed; which the exiles having ſome hints of, that they might anticipate this reſolve, they preſented themſelves before the city gate, to enter Florence in the front of the army: which matter being foreſeen, they were by thoſe which ſtill remained in Florence repulſed. But to ſee whether they could have that by fair means, which they could not get by force, they ſent eight ambaſſadors, to put the lords in mind of

their promiſe, and faith given, and to conſider the dangers they had run through, out of hopes to have that promiſe made good to them. Athough the nobles, who thought themſelves, and their honours obliged in this cauſe, becauſe they had particularly promiſed what the lords had proclaimed, laboured as much as they could in their behalf, yet the pique the generality of the people had taken, that ſince they had not overcome Caſtruccio in fight, they could not pretend to it, was ſo univerſal, that they could not obtain it; which was a heavy blur and diſhonour to the city. And many of the nobles were ſo incenſed at it, that they attempted to gain that by force, which they could not do by perſuaſion, and agreed privately with the out-laws, that they ſhould come armed to the city, and they within would take arms in their aſſiſtance. But the plot was diſcovered before the appointed day, in ſo much that the exiles found the city in arms, and in order ready to ſtop thoſe without, which ſo frighted thoſe within, that not one durſt take arms; ſo that hopeleſs they retreated, and gave over the enterprize.

After their departure, it was moved, that condign puniſhment ſhould be inflicted on thoſe, who had been the guilty cauſe of their coming; but though every one knew who were the delinquents, none durſt name or accuſe them: wherefore, that the truth might be known without reſpect, it was ordered, that in the council they ſhould write down the delinquents names, and privately give the writ-

ing to the captain of the people; by which means, accuſations were given in againſt Amerigo Donati, Teghiaio Freſcobaldi, and Lotteringo Gerardini, who, finding a more favourable judge than poſſibly their faults deſerved, were only fined.

The tumults which were raiſed in Florence, by the rebels coming to the gates, made it appear, that one chief was not enough for the companies of the people, and therefore, for the future, they would have three or four leaders for each company; and to every ſtandard-bearer, they added two or three, which they called Pennoniers, to the end, that in time of neceſſity, where all the company was to be drawn together, part of it might be employed under one of the leaders, and part under others. And as it happens in all republics, after ſome accidents, old laws are repealed, and new ones enacted; whereas formerly the lords were created from time to time, the ſigniory and their colleagues now ſitting, to amplify and enlarge their power, enacted, that they and their ſucceſſors ſhould continue forty months; whoſe names they put into a purſe, and every two months drew them. But before the term of forty months was paſt, many of the citizens doubting that they were not in the purſe, there was a new imburſation required.

From this beginning ſprung the order of chuſing out of the purſe the magiſtrates both within and without the city; whereas, firſt, at the end of their magiſtracy, by the ſucceeding council they were

choſen. Theſe and the names thus put into the purſe, they afterwards called Squittini †; and becauſe every three, or at moſt every five, years only it was done, they conceived it eaſed the city of much trouble, and took away many occaſions of tumults, which at the creation of every magiſtrate, by reaſon of the number of competitors, uſually happened: which diſorders not underſtanding how otherwiſe to prevent, made them make choice of this way, not foreſeeing the defects that lay hid under ſuch ſlender conveniencies.

It was now the year thirteen hundred and twenty-five; and Caſtruccio, having poſſeſſed himſelf of Piſtoia, grew ſo potent, that the Florentines, fearful of his greatneſs, reſolved before he was well ſettled in the dominion of it, to aſſault it, and reſcue it out of his hands. To this end, among their citizens and friends, they levied twenty thouſand foot, and three thouſand horſe, and with this army they encamped againſt Altopaſcio, that by taking that, they might cut off all relief from Piſtoia. The Florentines were ſucceſsful in taking this town, and from thence proceeded towards Lucca, waſting the country; but by reaſon of imprudent management and infidelity in their general, they made little progreſs. Their preſent general was Raimond of Cardona, who having obſerved the Florentines very liberal of their liberty, ſometimes having yielded it to the king, ſometimes to the legate, and ſometimes to

† The word ſignifies a joining or coupling together.

men of meaner quality, he thought by reducing them to ſome neceſſity, it might probably happen that they might make him prince. Nor did he forget to put them often in mind to grant him the ſame authority in the city, that he had in the field, alleging that otherwiſe he could never have that obedience, which was requiſite for a general. And becauſe the Florentines conſented not to this, he let ſlip thoſe opportunities, which Caſtruccio laid hold of; for in the mean time thoſe aids promiſed by the Viſconti, and the other tyrants of Lombardy, arrived; by which he was now grown potent. Raimond, who before, for want of fidelity, could not overcome, now for want of prudence knew not how to ſecure himſelf; but moving ſlowly with his army, was, by Caſtruccio near Altopaſcio, aſſaulted, and after a bloody battle totally routed, where many citizens were taken and ſlain, and among them ſignior Raimond himſelf; on whom fortune juſtly inflicted this puniſhment, which his falſhood and evil counſels had deſerved from the Florentines.

The damage Caſtruccio did the Florentines in plunder, priſoners, ruins and burnings, can hardly be related; for without any oppoſition, he, for ſeveral months, over-run their country; and for the Florentines, it ſeemed enough after ſuch a loſs to ſave their city. Yet were they not ſo faint-hearted, but they made great proviſion of money, hired ſoldiers, and ſent to their friends for aid; but againſt ſuch an enemy no proviſion was ſufficient. They were therefore conſtrained to chuſe Charles duke of

Calabria, ſon of king Robert, their lord, if they would have him come to their defence; for that family, being uſed to lord it over Florence, choſe rather their obedience than their friendſhip. But Charles being engaged in the war of Sicily, and not at leiſure to come and take poſſeſſion of his lordſhip, ſent Walter, by nation a Frenchman, and duke of Athens. He, as lieutenant to the lord, took poſſeſſion of the city, and ordained magiſtrates at his will and pleaſure; yet was his deportment ſo modeſt, and in a manner contrary to his nature, that every one loved him. Charles, as ſoon as the Sicilian wars were ended, with a thouſand horſe comes to Florence, where he made his enterance in July thirteen hundred and twenty-ſix, whoſe preſence put a ſtop to Caſtruccio's inroads into the Florentine country, or at leaſt awed him ſo, that he could not make them ſo freely. But whatever reputation he gained abroad, he loſt within; and thoſe injuries and damages their enemies were ſtopt from doing, their friends did at home: for the ſigniory now acted nothing without the duke's conſent; and he raiſed four hundred thouſand florins upon the city, notwithſtanding by agreement, he was not to exceed two hundred thouſand. So heavy were the loads wherewith he or his father daily oppreſſed the city!

To theſe grievances, new jealouſies and freſh enemies were joined; for the Ghibellines of Lombardy were ſo alarmed at the coming of Charles into Tuſcany, that Galeazzo Viſconti, and the other

tyrants of Lombardy, with money and promiſes, prevailed with Lewis, duke of Bavaria, who againſt the pope's will had been created emperor, to make an expedition into Italy. He comes into Lombardy, and from thence into Italy, and with Caſtruccio's aid makes himſelf lord of Piſa; where, refreſhed with money, he marches towards Rome; which made Charles haſte from Florence, being in fear for the kingdom, and leave ſignior Philip de Saggi-netto his lieutenant.

Caſtruccio, after the emperor's departure, makes himſelf lord of Piſa; and the Florentines by a cunning plot and contrivance took from him Piſtoia. Which preſently Caſtruccio ſits down before and beſieges, where he kept his ground with ſo much valour and obſtinacy, that though the Florentines made many attempts to relieve it, and oft-times with their army made ſhow of making inroads into his own country, to draw him off thence, yet they could never, either by force or cunning, make him raiſe his ſiege; ſo eagerly he deſired to chaſtiſe the Piſtoians, and baffle the Florentines! ſo that at laſt the Piſtoians were conſtrained to accept him for their lord: which, though it was a great addition to his glory, yet was dearly purchaſed, for at his return to Lucca he died. And becauſe fortune rarely gives either good or evil ſingly, Charles duke of Calabria, and lord of Florence, died about the ſame time at Naples. So that the Florentines, beyond their expectation, were in one inſtant delivered from the fear of the one, and tyranny of the o-

ther; who having thus recovered their freedom, reformed the city, and vacating all the orders of councils, created two new, one of the three hundred citizens, commoners; and the other of two hundred and forty, nobles and people mixed, the firſt of which they called the council of the people, and the other the common-council.

The emperor, at his arrival at Rome, created an anti-pope, and enacted many things againſt the church, and attempted many others unſucceſsfully. So that at laſt he went thence with diſgrace, and comes to Piſa, where either ſome way or other affronted, or for want of pay, eight hundred German horſe revolted, and on Monte Chiaro, upon the Ceruglio, ſtrengthened themſelves. Theſe, as ſoon as the emperor was gone from Piſa towards Lombardy, ſurprized Lucca, driving out Francis Caſtracani, left there by the emperor; and hoping to make ſome advantage of this ſeiſure, they offered that city to the Florentines for twenty thouſand florins, which, by the advice of Simon della Toſa, was refuſed; and it had been well for the city, had the Florentines been conſtant in their determination, but as they ſoon after varied their minds proved very hurtful; for, as now for ſo ſmall a price they might have been peaceably poſſeſſed of it, and would not; afterwards when they would have had it, they could not, though they would have bought it at a much higher rate; but it happened in this as in their change of government, which the Florentines often altered to infinite damage.

Lucca, thus refuſed by the Florentines, was bought by Gerardine Spinola, a Genoeſe, for thirty thouſand florins. And becauſe men are leſs eager after what they may have, than what they cannot obtain, as ſoon as ever they heard of Gerardine's bargain, and conſidered at how eaſy a rate he had it; the whole people of Florence were enflamed with a mighty deſire of having it, condemning both themſelves, and them that had diſcouraged them from buying it. And to gain by force what they would not purchaſe with money, they ſent their forces to prey upon and ſpoil the Luccheſe territories.

The emperor in the interim was gone out of Italy, and the anti-pope, by order of the Piſans, ſent priſoner into France. And the Florentines, after the death of Caſtruccio, which happened in thirteen hundred and twenty-eighth, till thirteen hundred and forty were quiet within, and only attended their affairs abroad: in Lombardy, by reaſon of the coming of John, king of Bohemia; and in Tuſcany upon account of Lucca, they had many wars. They likewiſe adorned their city with new buildings, erecting the tower of Sancta Reparata, by the advice of Giotto, a famous painter in thoſe times.

In the year thirteen hundred and thirty-four happened an extraordinary over-flowing of the river Arno, inſomuch, that in ſome places of Florence the waters roſe above twelve yards, whereby part of the bridges, and many buildings were ruined,

which, with great charge and induſtry, they ſtrove to repair. But in the year thirteen hundred and forty new occaſions of differences happened.

The richeſt of the citizens had two ways to increaſe and maintain their power. The one was by ordering, in ſuch manner, the imburſations of magiſtrates, that it ſhould always light upon them, or ſome of their friends; the other to be chiefs in the elections, that they might be afterwards in their judgments favourable to them. And ſo highly did they eſteem this ſecond part, that two rectors or governors not fufficing them, they many times, for their own ends, brought in a third; and now they had, in an extraordinary manner, brought under the title of captain of the guard ſignior James Gabriel of Agobbio, and given him all manner of authority over the city. This man, in compliance with thoſe that governed, did multiply injuries, and among others affronted ſignior Piedro de Bardo, and Bardo Freſcobaldi. Theſe being of the nobility, and naturally proud, could not put up an affront from a ſtranger, who was in the wrong, and who, only in compliance of a few people that governed, had abuſed them. Wherefore, to revenge themſelves, both of him and the preſent governors, they formed a conſpiracy, in which many noble families, and ſome of the people, joined, diſpleaſed with the tyranny of thoſe that ſat now at the helm.

They had deſigned among themſelves, that every one of them ſhould aſſemble as many armed men as they could in their houſes, and at the time of

mattins, on All-Souls day, when the people were diſperſed in the ſeveral churches to pray for their dead, fall on, kill the captain, and the heads of the government: and ſo, with new lords, and new orders, reform the ſtate. But becauſe in perilous attempts, the longer they are debated, the more difficulties appear, and conſequently they are the more unwillingly undertaken; it generally happens, that in conſpiracies, delay of execution begets a diſcovery. Thus Andrea Bardi being one of the conſpirators, fear of puniſhment happened to have more power over him than hopes of revenge; whereupon he diſcovered all to James Alberti, his kinſman; James to the priors, and they to the governors: and becauſe danger was nigh, All-Souls day being at hand, they judged it hazardous to delay, but adviſed the lords to ring the bell, and ſummon the people to arms. Taldo Valori was ſtandard-bearer, and Franciſco Salviati one of the lords: theſe being of the Bardi's relations withſtood the ringing of the bell, alleging it was not convenient on every ſlight occaſion to arm the people, becauſe the authority of the unbridled multitude never did well; and that tumults were eaſily raiſed, but hardly quelled. And therefore it were more judicious firſt to examine the truth of the matter, and civilly puniſh the offenders, than adventure their chaſtiſements tumultuouſly, and upon a ſingle relation, hazard the ruin of Florence. Which reaſons were ſo far from being allowed of, that with villanous and reproachful words, the lords were forced to

makes the bell be rung. At the ſound of which all the people gathered in arms at the Piazza.

On the other ſide, the Bardi and Freſcobaldi, ſeeing themſelves diſcovered, that they might overcome with glory, or die without ſhame, betook themſelves to arms, hoping to defend that part of the city on the farther ſide of the river, where their houſes ſtood, relying on the help they hoped to receive from the nobles in the country, and other their friends. But this their deſign was prevented by the people, which inhabited that part of the city, who took arms for the lords. Whereupon ſeeing this interpoſition, they retreated into the ſtreet, where the Bardi dwelt, as ſtronger than any of the reſt, and that they vigorouſly defended: James of Agobbio knowing all this conſpiracy made againſt him, fearful of death, in fright and amazement kept himſelf in the midſt of his armed men, near the palace of the lords; but the other governors, who were leſs faulty, had more courage, and eſpecially the Podeſta, or mayor, who was called ſignior Maffeo da Mazzadi. This brave gentleman coming into the hotteſt of the ſkirmiſh, on the other ſide the bridge Rubaconte, and entering amidſt the ſwords of the Bardi, made a ſign to parley with them: the reverence they bore to the perſon of the man, to his good manners, and other excellent qualities, made them in an inſtant forbear fighting, and quietly liſten to him; who, with grave and modeſt words, blamed their rebellion, and ſhewed them the danger in which they were, if they yielded not

to the force of the people, giving them hopes that they ſhould afterwards be heard, and favourably judged, and promiſing to be a mediator for compaſſion to their ſo reaſonable provocation; and then turning to the lords, perſuaded them that they would not ſtrive to overcome with the blood of their own citizens, nor judge any unheard. And ſo far he prevailed, that the Bardi and Freſcobaldi, without any oppoſition, left the city, and retired to their own caſtles. They gone, and the people having laid down their arms, the lords proceeded only againſt thoſe of the families of the Bardi and Freſcobaldi, that had taken arms; and to deveſt them of all power, they bought from the Bardi the caſtles Mangona and Verina, and by a law enacted that no citizen ſhould poſſeſs any caſtle within twenty miles of Florence.

Some months after, Stiato Freſcobaldi was beheaded, and many others declared rebels: nor were thoſe who governed content to have overcome the Bardi and Freſcobalbi, but as all men uſually do, the more authority they have, the worſe they uſe it, and the more inſolent they grow: whereas before, one captain of the guard afflicted Florence within, now they choſe another with unlimited authority to torment the country without, ſo that none they were jealous of could inhabit either in Florence or abroad; which ſo much incenſed all the nobles againſt them, that they were even ready to ſell the city and themſelves for revenge, and

waited only for an opportunity. It happened well, and they uſed it better.

By reaſon of the many troubles in Tuſcany and Lombardy, the city of Lucca was fallen into the hands of Maſtino della Scalla, lord of Verona, who, tho' by contract he was to conſign it to the Florentines, yet being lord of Parma, and judging himſelf able to keep it, he had not done it, but ſlighted his word, and broke his faith. Whereupon the Florentines, to revenge themſelves, joined with the Venetians, and reduced him to the very point of loſing his whole eſtate; yet all the advantage Florence got in the end, was the ſatisfaction of having recovered Maſtino: for the Venetians, as all that ally themſelves with the weaker do, after having gained Trevigi and Vicenza, without any reſpect to the Florentines, made peace. But ſometime after, the Viſconti lords of Milan having taken Parma from Maſtino, he thinking now he could no longer hold Lucca, offered it to ſale: the Florentines and the Piſans were the two ſtates who wanted to have the purchaſe of it; but in driving the bargain, the Piſans, ſeeing that the Florentines, as the richer, would carry it, applied themſelves to get it by force, and with the aid of the Viſconti took the field. The Florentines, however, drew not back, but completed their purchaſe with Maſtino, paid part of the money down, and for the reſt gave hoſtages, and went to take poſſeſſion. Naddo Ruccellai, John Bernardine de Medici, and Roſſo di Ricciardo, were ſent, who entering Lucca by force,

had the poſſeſſion delivered them by Maſtino's people: yet the Piſans purſued the enterprize, and with all imaginable induſtry fought to gain it by force, and the Florentines to raiſe the ſiege. But after a tedious war, the Florentines, with the expence of money, and purchaſe of ſhame, were driven out, and the Piſans became lords of Lucca.

The loſs of this city, as in ſuch caſes it always happens, made the people of Florence mad at their governors, and in all places and public meetings they rallied at them, villifying their authority and evil counſels.

At the beginning of this war, the management of it was committed to twenty citizens, who made choice of ſignior Rimini di Malateſta for general of the expedition; who, with little courage and leſs prudence, had managed it; and becauſe they had ſent to Robert, king of Naples, for aid, that king had ſent them Walter, duke of Athens, who, by the will of Heaven, that was preparing the enſuing misfortunes, arrived in Florence, juſt in the time that Lucca was utterly loſt. Whereupon the twenty, ſeeing the people enraged, bethought themſelves of electing a new general; imagining by ſuch election both to revive their hopes, and to bridle or take away the occaſion of their calumniating them: and ſince all cauſe of fear was not yet paſt, and that the duke of Athens could, with more authority, defend them, they firſt choſe him conſervator, and afterwards captain-general of their armies.

The nobles, who, for the reaſons above mentioned, lived in diſcontent, being many of them well acquainted with the duke, when formerly, in the name of Charles of Calabria, he governed Florence, thought now the time come, that they might, with the ruin of the people's liberty, quench the fire in their own houſes, believing they had no other way to tame the people that had oppreſſed them, but by ſubmitting themſelves under a prince, who, ſenſible of the virtues of one party, and the inſolencies of the other, would bridle this, and cheriſh that; adding to this the hopes of what they ſhould deſerve from him, when, by their means, he had obtained the principality: they had therefore many private meetings with him, perſuading him to take the government upon him, and offering him their utmoſt aſſiſtance; and to the authority and encouragements they gave him, ſome families of the commons, joined theirs, as the Peruzzi, Acciavoli, Antelleſi, and Bonacorſi, who, owing more than of themſelves they were able to pay, were covetous of other mens goods to diſcharge their debts, and by enſlaving their country, thought to free themſelves from the ſlavery of their creditors. Theſe perſuaſions ſtirred up the ambitious mind of the duke to a greater deſire of rule, and to gain himſelf the reputation of being juſt and ſevere, and by that means win favour among the people, he proſecuted the managers of the Luccheſe war; and John de Medici, Naddo Ruccellari, and William Altoviti, he put to death, and many he baniſhed, and more he fined.

Theſe executions extremely affrighted the middle ſort of citizens; only the nobles and plebeians were pleaſed at them; theſe, becauſe it is their nature to rejoice at miſchief; thoſe, becauſe they ſaw themſelves in a way of revenging ſo many injuries the people had done them; and even as he paſſed the ſtreets, they, with loud voices, praiſed the frankneſs and generoſity of his mind, and publicly encouraged him to examine and puniſh the frauds of the citizens.

The authority of the twenty thus came to nothing, and the reputation of the duke augmented, and the awe of him increaſed. Many, to honour him, cauſed his arms to be painted upon their houſes; nor wanted he any thing of prince but the title: and now thinking he might ſecurely do what he liſt, he ſent to let the ſenators know, that he judged it for the good of the city, that they ſhould leave the government freely and abſolutely to him; and ſince the whole people were well pleaſed with it, he deſired their conſent likewiſe. The ſenators, though they had long before foreſeen the ruin of their country, were much alarmed at this demand; and though they knew their danger, yet not to be wanting to their country reſolutely denied it. The duke had, to make the greater ſhow of piety and devotion, choſen for his reſidence the convent of the friars minors of the holy croſs; and deſirous to bring his malignant deſigns to effect, he cauſed proclamation to be made, that all the people ſhould appear be-

fore him in the Piazza of the holy croſs, on the morning following.

This proclamation ſtartled the ſenators more than his demands had done; and they got together with thoſe citizens, whom they judged lovers of their country, and of liberty, not daring, as knowing too well the duke's power, to apply any other remedy than prayer and perſuaſion; and determined to try, ſince their force was inſufficient, if intreaties could make him deſiſt from the attempt, or at leaſt make his tyranny the eaſier. Whereupon part of the lords went to him, and one of them ſpake after this manner.

"We come hither, great Sir, to you, moved firſt "by your demand, and ſince, by the proclamation "you have make to aſſemble the people: for it is "apparent to us, that you would, in an extraordi- "nary manner, aſſume that which, by ordinary "ways, we cannot grant you; nor is it our inten- "tion with any force to oppoſe your deſigns, but "only to demonſtrate how heavy the load is you "have laid upon us, and how perilous the action "you undertake; that you may, at all times, re- "member our counſels, as well as theirs, who not "for your advantage, but, to wreak their own ma- "lice, have adviſed you to this. You attempt to "enſlave a city, that has always lived free; for the "authority we have formerly granted to the royal "blood of Naples, was as companions, not as ſer- "vants. Have you conſidered of what influence "and importance the very name of liberty is in this

" city? which no power can tame, no time con-
" ſume, nor no merit counterpoiſe. Do but think,
" Sir, what forces are neceſſary to keep in bondage
" ſuch a city. Thoſe ſtrangers you have enter-
" tained will not ſuffice; thoſe within, you cannot
" rely upon, for they who are now your friends,
" and have adviſed you to this attempt, when,
" with your authority, they have quelled their ene-
" mies, will ſeek your deſtruction, that they may
" make themſelves princes. The plebeians, in
" whom you confide, will, upon the leaſt accident
" that can befal, revolt from you; ſo that you may
" reaſonably fear, in a ſhort time, to have the
" whole city your enemies, to the ruin both of it
" and yourſelf. Nor is there, in nature, any reme-
" dy to prevent this; for thoſe lords may make
" their dominion ſecure, who having but few ene-
" mies, can, with death or baniſhment, root them
" out; but where the hatred is univerſal, no ſecu-
" rity can be found; for you not knowing whence
" the evil will ariſe, he that fears every man can
" aſſure himſelf of none; or, if you try to do it,
" you but aggravate the danger: for thoſe that re-
" main, more enflamed with hate and anger,
" will be more ready to revenge. That time is
" not able, with its iron teeth, to devour the de-
" ſire of liberty, is moſt certain; for it has often
" been known to have been re-aſſumed in a city
" that had never themſelves taſted it, but had on-
" ly a memory kept alive how their fathers loved
" it; and once recovered, they have preſerved it

" with all obſtinacy and hazard; and had they not
" been put in mind of it by their anceſtors, the
" public palaces, the ſeats of the magiſtracy, and
" the badges of the free orders, would have recall-
" ed to memory things, which with all eagerneſs
" of deſire muſt needs be again wiſhed for by all
" citizens. What can you pretend your acts ſhall
" be to counterpoiſe the ſweetneſs of liberty,
" or to extinguiſh in men a deſire of returning to
" their former freedom? The adding all Tuſcany
" to this dominion would not do it: no! though
" you ſhould every day return triumphant over our
" enemies; for the glory of all this would not ac-
" crue to us, but to you: and though your man-
" ners were holy, your deportment kind, and your
" judgment juſt, yet would not all theſe be ſuffici-
" ent to inſtal you in the peoples love; nay, if you
" think they could free you from their hate, you
" would be deceived; for to him that is accuſtomed
" to live unbounded, fetters of gold are heavy, and
" ſilver cords pinch. Beſides, for a good prince
" violently to detain a government, is impoſſible;
" for it becomes a neceſſity that he either grow vi-
" olent too, or that one or both run to ruin. You
" muſt therefore reſolve, either with an extremity
" of violence to keep in awe this city, which cita-
" dels, guards, nor foreign friends, will not be
" enough to do, or elſe content yourſelf with that
" authority we have given you; to which we ex-
" hort you, by remembering, that that dominion
" only is durable, which is voluntary; and do not,

" blinded by a little ambition, be hurried into that " precipice, where not being able either to ſtand or " climb higher, you muſt needs to your own, and " our great damage, fall."

Theſe words did not at all move the obdurate heart of the duke, who told them that it was not his intention to take away the liberty of the city, but reſtore it; for diſunited cities only were ſlaves, but united free: that if Florence, by his means, were delivered from ambition, parties and factions, he ſhould not take any away, but give it new freedom; that it was not his own ambition, but the interceſſion of many citizens that led him to this attempt; and therefore they would do well to content themſelves with what others conſented to. As for the dangers which he might poſſibly encounter, he contemned them; for it was the part of a diſhoneſt man to leave doing good for fear of evil, and of a coward to give over a glorious enterpriſe, becauſe the event was doubtful: but he hoped to carry himſelf ſo, that they, in a ſhort time, ſhould believe they had truſted him too little, and feared him too much. Upon which the lords agreed, ſeeing they could do no otherways, that the morning following the people ſhould aſſemble in the place before their palace, by whoſe authority they would give the duke the government for one year, with the ſame conditions that were once given to Charles, duke of Calabria.

It was the eighth day of September, and in the year thirteen hundred and forty-two, that the duke,

accompanied by ſignior John de Toſa, and all his conſorts, and many other citizens, went to the palace, and, together with the lords, went up to the Ringhiera, ſo they call the platform at the foot of the palace of the lords, where they read to the people the agreements made between him and the ſenators; but when they came to the reading of that paſſage, that for one year they gave him the government, the people cried out amain; *For life, for life!* And Franciſco Ruſtichegli, one of the ſenate, riſing to ſpeak, and mitigate the tumult, his words were drowned with the out-cries of the people: ſo that by the people's conſent not only for a year, but for ever, he was choſe lord, and taken and carried through the multitude, who ecchoed out his name through the whole city. It is cuſtomary, that he who has the guard of the palace ſhould in the abſence of the ſenators be locked within it. Riveri de Gotto now had that charge: he, corrupted by the duke's friends, without any violence offered, let him in, and the ſenators, daunted and diſmayed, returned to their houſes, and their palace was, by the duke's family, ſacked, the ſtandard of the people torn in pieces, and his arms let fly upon the palace, which was looked upon with extreme vexation and grief of all good men, but with great delight by thoſe who, either through ignorance or malice, had conſented to it.

The duke thus poſſeſſed of the government, to take away all authority from thoſe who had uſed to be defenders of liberty, prohibited the lords from

meeting in the palace, and aſſigned them a private houſe; took away the ſtandards from the Gonfaloniers of the companies of the people, annulled the orders of juſtice againſt the nobles, ſet all priſoners free, recalled the Bardi and Freſcobaldi from baniſhment, and forbid any one carrying arms. The better alſo to defend himſelf from thoſe within, he made friends of thoſe without: highly obliged the Aretines, and all other towns ſubject to Florence; made peace with the Piſans, though he was made prince to continue the war with them; took the aſſignments from thoſe merchants, who, in the war of Lucca, had lent the commonwealth money; increaſed the old taxes, and impoſed new; and deprived the lords of all their authority. His chief miniſters and adviſers were ſignior Baglione of Perugia, ſignior William of Sceſi, from whom, and ſignior Cerettieri Biſdomini, he took counſel.

The taxes he had laid upon the citizens were heavy, and his judgments unjuſt; and all the uprightneſs and humanity he had feigned, was turned into cruelty and pride; and that he might not govern better without than within, he conſtituted ſix rectors or governors over the country, who robed, ſpoiled, and oppreſſed the whole people of the country. He grew jealous of the nobles, though they had been ſo aſſiſtant to him, and was chagrined that he had reſtored many of them to their country; for he could not imagine that generous ſouls, who uſed to live as a free nobility, could be content to obey him. He therefore addicted himſelf to oblige

the plebeians, hoping, by their favour and foreign force, to maintain his tyranny. And when the month of May was come, in which the people uſed to feaſt, he formed ſeveral companies of the plebeians, and meaneſt of the people, of whom one part went feaſting throughout the city, and the other, with great pomp, received the feaſters.

As ſoon as the fame of this new lordſhip was ſpread abroad, many of the French nation addreſſed themſelves to him, to all which he gave employments, as the people he had the moſt confidence in: ſo that Florence, in a ſhort time, became not only ſubject to the French, but even to their habits and cuſtoms; for the men and women, without any reſpect to civility or ſhame, followed their faſhions. But that which fretted mens minds moſt of all, were the violences offered by him, and his, to the women.

Thus then the citizens lived, full of inward indignation, ſeeing the majeſty of the ſtate ruined, its orders deſtroyed, its laws annulled, all honeſt converſation corrupted, and all civil modeſty extinguiſhed: for thoſe, who uſed never to ſee any regal pomp, could not but with grief behold themſelves in every ſtreet, encompaſſed with guards of horſe and foot; and that which made their grief and ſhame more poignant, was that they were to honour him, whom they above all the world hated: to which fear and terror was added, ſeeing the frequent executions and continual taxes, wherewith he conſumed and impoveriſhed the city. Which

fear and indignation of the peoples were well known and dreaded by the duke; yet he made no ſhow, but ſeemed ſtill to believe himſelf beloved. Whence it happened, that Matthew Morozzo, either to gratify him, or free and reſcue himſelf from the danger, having diſcovered how the family of the Medici, and ſome others had conſpired againſt him; the duke not only forbore making any inquiſition into the matter, but put the informer to a miſerable death; by which act he diſcouraged thoſe that would have given him advice how to ſecure himſelf, and created intelligence to thoſe who ſought his ruin. He likewiſe cauſed Bettini Cini's tongue to be cut out, and that with ſo much cruelty that he died of it, only for railing at the taxes he had impoſed on the people; which barbarities begot heart-burnings in the citizens, and extreme hatred of the duke: for that city, which had lived under a cuſtom of doing and ſaying any thing they pleaſed, could not endure to have their hands bound, and their mouths ſtopt.

In ſhort, theſe diſguſts and animoſities grew to that height, that not the Florentines only, who neither know how to be free, and yet cannot endure to ſerve, but the moſt ſervile nation in the world, would have hazarded all, to have regained their freedom; and thereupon many citizens, of all qualities, reſolved either to recover their liberty, or loſe their lives. And in three parts, by three ſorts of citizens, three conſpiracies were formed; to wit, of the nobles, merchants, and mechanics,

moved, beſides the univerſal and general cauſe, from the nobles thinking they had not advanced the ſtate, nor themſelves in it; the merchants that they had loſt it; and the artificers that they wanted trade.

Agnolo Acciaivolo was now archbiſhop of Florence, who in all his ſermons had magnified the duke's actions, and made him gracious in the eyes of the people. But now, ſince he ſaw him lord, and beheld his tyrannies, he was conſcious to himſelf of being a betrayer of his country. And to gain abſolution for that fault, he believed the beſt remedy was, that the hand which had made the wound ſhould heal it; and of the chief and ſtrongeſt conſpiracy, became himſelf the head: in which were the Bardi, Roſſi, Freſcobaldi, Scali, Altoviti, Magolotti, Strozzi, and Mancini; of the ſecond ſignior Mano, and Corſo Donati, and with them the Pazzi, Caviciulli, Cerchi, and Albizzi were the chief; of the third Antonio Adimari was the head; and with him the Medici, Bordini, Ruccellari, and Aldobrandini. Theſe laſt thought to have ſlain him near the palace of the Albizzi, where, as it was imagined, he was to come and ſee a horſe-race; but he not going thither, that failed. They determined then to aſſault him as he paſſed about the city; but this was found difficult, becauſe he always went well guarded and armed, and every day changed his walk, ſo that it was impoſible to lie in ambuſh for him in any certain place: they conſulted laſtly to kill him in council; but it was then conſidered, that though they ſhould effect it, the

conſpirators muſt remain at the diſcretion of his guards.

Whilſt theſe things were debated amongſt the conſpirators, Antonio Adimari diſcovered the whole matter to ſome of his friends at Siena, hoping to gain ſome aid from thence, openly declaring to them that part of the conſpirators, and aſſuring them the whole city was diſpoſed to regain their loſt liberty. Whereupon one of them diſcloſed the whole matter to Franciſco Brunelleſchi, not out of intention to diſcover it, but out of a belief that he was likewiſe of the plot. Brunelleſchi terrified for himſelf, and hating the others, told all to the duke; upon which Pagolo de Mazzecchi, and Simon de Montezappoli were taken; who, confeſſing the quality and number of the conſpirators, affrighted the duke: he was therefore adviſed that he ſhould rather ſend for them friendly than arreſt them; for if they fled, he might, without any ſcandal or diſhonour, ſecure himſelf by their baniſhment. The duke accordingly ſent for Antonio Adimari; who, confiding in his companions, immediately appeared; and he being detained, the duke was by ſignior Franciſco Brunelleſchi, and Uguccione Buondelmonte, adviſed that he ſhould, with his ſoldiers, ſecure the ſtreets, and whoever he took put to death. But this way he could not approve of, judging his forces too weak for ſuch an adventure. He pitched therefore on another; which, if it ſucceeded, made him ſecure of his enemies, and ſtrengthened his own power.

The duke had made it a cuſtom, when any matter of weight occurred, to ſend for the citizens, and aſk their advice. Having therefore now firſt ſent out to get forces in readineſs, he makes a liſt of three hundred citizens, and ſend out his ſerjeants to warn them in, under pretence of adviſing with them; deſigning, when he had once got them in his clutches, either to put them to death, or cloſly impriſon them. The confinement of Antonio Adimari, and the drawing together of his forces, which could not be kept ſecret, ſo ſtartled the citizens, eſpecially the guilty, that the boldeſt of them denied to appear. And becauſe every one had read the liſt, they went to ſeek each other out, heartening themſelves up rather to die like men, with arms in their hands, than be led like ſheep to the ſlaughter: ſo that, in few hours, every party of the conſpirators had diſcovered their intentions one to another, and determined, the day following, which was the twenty-ſixth of July, thirteen hundred and forty-three, to raiſe a tumult in the old market, and thereupon taking arms, call out the people to liberty.

Accordingly the next day, at nine o'clock, the time appointed, they all took arms, and the people likewiſe, at the cry of liberty, armed themſelves, and each party fortified themſelves in their own ſtreets, under banners, with the peoples arms in them, which the conſpirators had cauſed privily to be made. All the heads of the families, as well nobles as people, met and ſwore to their own defence, and the

death of the duke, except only ſome of the Buondelmonti and Cavalcanti, and thoſe four families of the commons, that had conſented to make him lord, who, together with the Beccai, and the rabble of the people, ran armed into the Piazza to defend the duke. Upon this rumour the duke fortifies the palace; and his men, that were lodged in divers parts, came out mounted on horſe-back, to get into the Piazza, and in ſeveral places, were met with, fought and ſlain; yet about three hundred horſe got thither. The duke was in doubt whether he ſhould ſally out and fight his enemies, or defend himſelf in the palace.

On the other ſide, the Medici, the Cavicciulli, the Ruccellai, and other families, which had been moſt oppreſſed by him, doubting leſt if he ſhould iſſue out, many that had taken arms againſt him would revolt, and prove his friends, reſolving to deprive him of that opportunity of adding to his power, made head and aſſaulted the palace. Upon their advancing, thoſe families of the commons, which had ſided with the duke, ſeeing him thus briſkly aſſaulted, changed their minds, ſince the duke had changed his fortune, and all joined with the citizens, ſave only Uguccione Buondelmonte, who went to the palace, and John Cavalcanti, who, retreating with ſome of his conſorts into the New Market, leaping upon a ſtall, intreated the people, who paſſed armed by towards the Piazza, that they would undertake the defence of the duke; and to frighten them, he boaſted his own power, and

threatened them all with death, if they continued obſtinate to oppoſe their lord. But finding he neither could get any of them to follow him, nor that any of them took notice of his inſolence to chaſtiſe it; ſeeing his labour in vain, he would no longer tempt fortune, but retired to his own houſe. Mean while the bickering in the great place, between the forces of the duke and the people, was hot; and though the palace gave all the aid it could to the duke's party, they were overcome; and ſome of them ſubmitted to their enemies, and others, leaving their horſes in the palace, fled.

Whilſt they thus fought in the Piazza, Corſo and Amerigho Donati, of the people's ſide, broke open the public priſon, burnt the mayor's records, and thoſe of the public chamber, ſacked the houſes of the rectors or governors, and all thoſe miniſters of the duke they could light on they ſlew. Mean while, the duke, ſeeing he had loſt the Piazza, and had all the city his enemies, and no hopes of help, attempted an act of kindneſs to gain the people. Sending for the priſoners, with ſweet and obliging words he releaſed them, making Antonio Adimari, though much againſt his will, knight; he cauſed alſo his arms to be taken down from the palace, and put up thoſe of the people. Which things being done too late, and out of due order, as forced and done by conſtraint, ſtood him in little ſtead; for he had ſtill the vexation to behold himſelf cloſe beſieged in the palace, and to conſider that by graſping too much

he had loſt all, and muſt, in few days, die either by famine or ſword.

The citizens, to give form again to their ſtate, retired to Sancta Reparata, and create ſixteen citizens, one half of the nobles, the other of the people, who, together with the archbiſhop, had all manner of authority given them to new moddle the ſtate. They likewiſe choſe ſix to execute the office of Poteſta, or mayor, till one ſhould be choſen.

There were come into Florence to aid the people many from other parts; among which were divers from Siena, with ſix ambaſſadors, men much honoured in their country. Theſe mediated ſome agreement between the duke and the people. But the people refuſed all manner of accord, unleſs firſt they had delivered up into their hands ſignior William Sceſi, and his ſon, together with Cerettieri Biſdomini. To this the duke would not conſent; but at length threatened by the people beſieged with him, he yielded. Certainly the ſpite appears greater, and the wounds are more ghaſtly that are made by a people, recovering their liberty, than by thoſe defending it. Signior William, and his ſon, were delivered as a prey to thouſands of their enemies, his ſon not yet eighteen years of age; yet could neither his youth, beauty, nor innocence ſave him from the fury of the multitude: they fell upon both; and thoſe, who could not wound them living, wounded them dead. Nor was their cruelty ſatisfied with hewing them in pieces with their ſwords, but they tore them with their hands and

teeth; and that all their ſenſes might bear a part in their revenge, having firſt heard their groans, ſeen their wounds, touched their torn limbs; they would likewiſe have their taſte gratified, that their outward parts being before ſatisfied, their ſtomachs might be ſatiated likewiſe. But if this outragious madneſs make them exceed all bounds of cruelty to thoſe two poor gentlemen, it was kind to ſignior Ceretieri; for the multitude, tired with executing their bloody rage upon theſe two, quite forgot him, who, no more aſked for, ſtaid ſtill in the palace, and at night was, by ſome of his friends and kinſmen, conveyed into a place of ſafety.

The people, having wrecked their revenge in the blood of theſe two, came to this agreement, that the duke, with all his people and goods, ſhould depart in ſafety, he renouncing all manner of claim to Florence; and that as ſoon as he was got out of their dominion, he ſhould, at Caſentino, ſign the renunciation.

In this manner, on the ſixth of Auguſt, he departed from Florence, accompanied by many citizens; and at Caſentino, though very unwillingly, he ratified the renunciation; nor had he kept his word, had not count Simon threatened to carry him back to Florence.

This duke was, as his government teſtifies, covetous and cruel, difficult of acceſs, and proud in his anſwers. He deſired the ſlavery, not the good will of men, and therefore choſe rather to be feared than loved. Nor was indeed his preſence leſs con-

temptible than his manners; for he was of ſtature but low, and ſwarthy of complexion, his beard long and thin; ſo that every part of him deſerved hatred: and in ten months time, his bad conduct had driven him from that government, which the ill counſels of others had raiſed him to.

Theſe accidents, happening in the city, gave opportunity to the towns, ſubject to the Florentines, to aſſume their liberty, ſo that Arezzo, Caſtiglione, Piſtoia, Volterra, Colle, and St. Gunigiano rebelled; and the Florentines, by recovering their liberty, taught their ſubjects to do the like; and with the driving out of the duke, ſucceeded the loſs of their territories. The ſixteen citizens, and the biſhop, thought it more convenient to pleaſe their ſubjects by peace, than to make themſelves enemies by war, and ſhewed themſelves as well ſatisfied with their liberty as with their own: wherefore they ſent ambaſſadors to Arezzo, to renounce all command they had over that city, and to make a league with them, that ſince they could not value themſelves upon them as ſubjects, they might do it as friends. With the other towns they agreed likewiſe in the beſt manner they could, ſtriving to keep them their friends, that they being free, might help to maintain their liberty. This management, as it was prudently deviſed, ſo it had happy ſucceſs: for Arezzo, ere many years paſt, returned under the Florentine government, and the other towns ſtood out but few months. Thus many times we the ſooner, and with leſs charge and expence, obtain

things by ſeeming to ſlight them, than by proſecuting them with violence and obſtinacy.

Things quieted thus abroad, they applied themſelves to ſettle affairs at home; and after ſome diſputes between the nobles and people, it was concluded that the nobles ſhould have one third part in the ſignory, and in all other offices one half. The city was, as we have ſaid before, divided into ſix parts or wards; whereupon there were ſix lords, one of every ward choſen, unleſs upon ſome accident they choſe twelve or thirteen; but ſoon after they were again reduced to ſix; yet it was thought fit to regulate the government in this point, as well becauſe the wards were not evenly diſtributed, as becauſe now giving a part to the nobles, it was convenient to encreaſe the number of the lords. Wherefore they divided the city into quarters, and out of each choſe three lords or ſenators. They aboliſhed the Gonfalonier of juſtice, and thoſe of the companies of the people; and in the place of the twelve Goodmen, they created eight counſellors, four of each degree.

This order of government eſtabliſhed, the city might have been quiet, if the nobles had been content to live with that modeſty requiſite in civil converſation; but they acted quite contrary; for when private men, they would have no companions; and when magiſtrates, they would be tyrants; and every day produced ſome example of their pride and inſolency; which mightily diſguſted the people, who were grieved to ſee that for one tyrant deſtroyed, a thou-

ſand were ſprung up. Thus inſolency on the one ſide, and regret on the other, daily increaſing, the heads of the people repreſented to the biſhop the haughty deportment of the nobles, and their ſcornful carriage towards their fellows in office, and therefore perſuaded him to mediate a way that the nobles might be content with other offices, and leave the magiſtracy of the ſignory to the people only. The biſhop was naturally juſt, but good-natured, eaſy to be turned to one ſide or the other, which made him firſt, at the inſtance of ſome of that prince's friends, favour the duke of Athens, and afterwards by the inſtigation and advice of ſome citizens conſpire againſt him. He had, in the reformation of the ſtate, favoured the nobles, and now thought fit to favour the people, moved by the reaſons alleged by thoſe popular citizens: and thinking to find in others the ſame unſtedfaſtneſs himſelf was ſubject to, perſuaded to bring the matter to agreement, and ſummoning the ſixteen whoſe authority was not yet extinct, in the manner he could, he exhorted them to yield the adminiſtration of the ſignory to the people, promiſing thereby the quiet of the city, or otherwiſe its ruin and deſtruction.

This diſcourſe ſtrangely incenſed the nobles, and ſignior Ridophus de Bardi, with bitter words, reproved him, calling him a man of little faith, and reproaching his friendſhip to the duke as fickle, and his conſpiracy againſt him as traiterous, concluding that thoſe honours which they had, with danger,

gained, they would, though with danger, defend; and departing with the others enraged at the biſhop, he gave account of what had paſſed to his companions, and to all the families of the nobles. The commons likewiſe told their minds to others: and whilſt the nobles were forming forces to defend their authority, the people thought not fit to ſtay till they were got in order, but run armed to the palace, crying out that they would have the nobles renounce the magiſtracy. The tumult and noiſe was great, and the lords choſen from among the nobles ſaw themſelves forſaken; for the nobles ſeeing all the people in arms durſt not come out, but every one kept within their houſes; ſo that the popular lords having firſt uſed means to quiet the people, affirming their colleagues to be good and modeſt men, not able to prevail upon leſs terms, they were ſent home to their own houſes, whither with much ado they were brought with ſafety. The nobles thus thurſt out of the palaces; they took away the office likewiſe from the four noble counſellors, and afterwards made twelve, all of the people; and to the eight lords that remained, they made a Gonfalonier of juſtice, and ſixteen ſtandard-bearers of the companies of the people, and in ſuch manner reformed the councils that the whole power of government remained in the arbitriment of the people.

When theſe things happened there was a great ſcarcity in the city, ſo that both the nobles, and the poorer ſort of the people, were at once diſ-

contented; theſe for hunger, thoſe for having loſt their authority: which accident encouraged ſignior Andrea Strozzi to hope he might uſurp over the liberty of the city. He ſold his corn at a much cheaper rate than others; whereupon multitudes flocked to his houſe, ſo that he took at laſt the boldneſs to mount one morning on horſeback, and with ſome of thoſe behind him to call the people to arms; and in a little time get together above four thouſand men, with which he marched to the palace of the lords, and demanded enterance. But the lords, with threats and arms, beat him off the place, and, by proclamation, ſo terrified the people, that by little and little every one went home to his own houſe, leaving ſignior Andrea alone, who very hardly by flight eſcaped out of the magiſtrates hands.

This accident, though raſh and flooliſh in itſelf, yet made the nobles hope they might one day force the people, ſince the plebeian rabble were at diſcord with them: and that they might not loſe this occaſion, they reſolved to ſtrengthen themſelves with all aſſiſtances poſſible, to regain by reaſonable force what by unjuſt force had been taken from them: and into ſuch a confidence of victory they grew, that they publicly provided arms, fortified their houſes, and ſent to their friends in Lombardy for aid. The people likewiſe, together with the lords, made their proviſions, arming themſelves, and demanding aſſiſtance from Sciena and Perugia. And now the friends of either ſide appeared; the whole city was in arms, the nobles had, on the largeſt ſide

of the city, made head in three places, at the houſe of the Caviacciulli, near St. John's, at the houſe of the Pazzi and Donati at great St. Peter's, and at that of the Cavalcanti in the New Market. Thoſe, on the other ſide Arno, had fortified themſelves on the bridges, and in the ſtreets where their houſes ſtood; the Nerli defended the bridge of Carraia, the Freſcobaldi and Mannelli, that of the Holy Trinity, the Roſſi and Bardi, the old Bridge, and that of the Rubiconte. On the other ſide, the commons were aſſembled under the ſtandard of juſtice, and the banners of the companies of the people; and things being in this poſture, the people thought not fit any longer to defer the ſcuffle. The firſt that moved were the Medici and Rodinelli, who aſſaulted the Caviacciuli at the enterance from St. John's place to their houſes. Here the ſkirmiſh was hot, becauſe from the towers they were pelted with ſtones, and from below wounded with croſsbows. This battle laſted three hours, and ſtill the people increaſed, ſo that at length the Caviacciulli, ſeeing themſelves oppreſſed by multitudes, and no ſuccour coming, grew faint, and yielded themſelves to the power of the people, who ſaved for them their goods and houſes, only took away their arms, which they divided among ſuch of their friends and kindred, among the commons, as were diſarmed. Having in the firſt aſſault come off victorious, they next fell upon the Donati and Pazzi, whom they eaſily overcome, being much weaker than the former. There remained now, on that ſide the river,

the Cavalcanti only, who were very ſtrong both in men and ſituation; notwithſtanding, ſeeing all the ſtandards much againſt them, when three of them only had conquered the other, without making any great defence they yielded. Now were three parts of the city in the peoples hands; there remainded only one in the hands of the nobles, but that the hardeſt to come by, as well by reaſon of the ſtrength of thoſe that defended it, as for its ſituation, being fenced with the river Arno, ſo that there was no way but forcing the bridges, which were fortified in the manner before deſcribed; yet the old bridge was firſt ſtormed, which was gallantly defended, for the towers were armed, the paſſages barred, and the turnpikes guarded with ſtout and couragious men; ſo that the people, with great loſs, were repulſed. Seeing therefore here their labour loſt, they next aſſaulted the bridge Rubiconte; but finding the ſame difficulty, leaving a guard of four colours to keep theſe two poſts, they aſſaulted the Caraia, and though the Nerli manfully defended it, they could not ſuſtain the ſhock of the people, this bridge, for want of towers to defend it, being the weakeſt, and the Capponi, and other families of the commons, aſſaulting them behind, ſo that oppreſſed on every ſide they forſook their turnpikes, and gave way to the people, who, after this, overcame the Roſſi and Freſcobaldi; for now all the people on that ſide Arno joined with the conquerors. There then remained only the Bardi, whom neither the ruin of the reſt, nor the uniting of the whole

people, nor the ſmall hopes they had of any ſuccour, could terrify; but they choſe rather to die with their arms in their hands, and ſee their houſes ſacked and burnt, than ſubmit themſelves to the diſcretion of their enemies; and ſo obſtinately defended they themſelves, that the people ſeveral times attempted in vain to beat them either from the old bridge, or the Rubaconte, but were ſtill, with the ſlaughter and wounding of many of their men, repulſed.

There had ſome time before been a ſtreet made, which led from the Roman way, by the houſes of the Pitti, to the wall upon St. George's hill. By this way the people ſent ſix colours, with orders to give the aſſault on the back-ſide of the Bardi's houſes. This made their hearts fail them, and gave the people an entire victory; for when thoſe who had the guard of the turnpikes heard their houſes were aſſaulted, they abandoned their poſts, and ran to defend them. Thus the turnpike upon the old bridge was taken, and the Bardi put to flight on all ſides, who by the Quarateſi, Panzaneſi, and Mozzi, were received. But the people, eſpecially the rabble, greedy of prey, ſpoiled and ſacked their houſes, and pulled down, and burnt their palaces with ſo much diſtempered rage and madneſs, that the moſt deſpiteful enemy of the Florentine name would have bluſhed to have made ſuch ruins.

The nobles thus overcome, the people reformed their ſtate; and becauſe there were three degrees of people, the rich, the middle ſort, and the ple-

beians; they ordained that the richeſt rank of citizens ſhould have two choſen to ſit in the ſignory, the middle ſort three, and the poor the like, and the Gonfalonier was ſometimes of one, and ſometimes of the other. Beſides, all the laws againſt the nobles were re-enacted, and to weaken them the more, many of them were ranked and mixed among the people. This ruin of the nobles was ſo great, and ſo depreſſed their party, that never afterwards durſt they take arms againſt the people, but lived ever after more humble and ſubmiſſive; by which means Florence grew vile and abject, loſing both its reputation in matters of arms, and all generoſity of manners.

The city after this blow lived in quiet till the year fifteen hundred and forty-three, in the courſe of which time happened that memorable peſtilence, which John Boccace has deſcribed with ſo much eloquence, and in which Florence loſt ninety ſix thouſand ſouls. The Florentines likewiſe made the firſt war with the Viſconti, occaſioned by the ambition of the arch-biſhop, then prince of Milan; and though the nobility was deſtroyed, yet fortune failed not, by new diviſions, to create new troubles.

BOOK III.

THE natural and implacable enmities between the nobles and commons, occaſioned by the deſire thoſe have to command, and the regret theſe have to obey, are the only fountains from which all the miſeries which befal a city, flow. For, from this contradiction of humours, all other diſturbances in a commonwealth take their ſource and ſtream.

This divided Rome, and this, if it may be permitted to compare great things with ſmall, has kept Florence in diviſion; albeit in either of thoſe cities effects quite diverſe were produced. For the quarrels which firſt happened in Rome, between the common people and the nobles, were decided with words, but thoſe in Florence with ſwords. Thoſe of Rome were determined by a law; but thoſe of Florence with the ſlaughter and baniſhment of many of the citizens. The Romans ſtill roſe and advanced in military virtue; but the Florentines quite ruined it. The Romans, from an equality among their citizens, reduced them to degrees of inequality; thoſe of Florence from a great inequality, to a ſtrange and monſtrous equality. Which diverſity of effects muſt of neceſſity have been produced from the different ends thoſe people propoſed to themſelves: for the people of Rome only deſired to

enjoy the ſupreme honours together with the nobles: the Florentines, on the contrary, fought to have the government in their hands only, without admitting the nobles to any ſhare. And, becauſe the deſires of the people of Rome were more reaſonable, the offences of the nobles became more ſupportable, and that nobility, without coming to extremities, complied ſo, that after any diſagreement, it was but making a law to ſatisfy the people, and the nobles ſtill preſerved their dignity.

On the other ſide, the deſires of the people of Florence were injurious and unjuſt; which conſtrained the nobility, with all their power, to ſtand upon their defence, whence proceeded ſuch effuſion of blood, and baniſhment of the citizens: and thoſe laws, afterwards enacted, had no reſpect to public good, but wholly made in favour of the conqueror. Hence likewiſe it proceeded, that the people of Rome ſtill increaſed their virtue with their victories; for the people being equally admitted, with the nobles, to all the employments in the city, camp, and government, ſtrove likewiſe to arrive at the ſame degree of virtue with them; whereby that city, increaſing in virtue, increaſed likewiſe in power: but in Florence the people overcoming, the nobles were deprived of all rule; and to regain it, were conſtrained in their deportment, in their mind, and in their manner of living, not only to aſſimulate themſelves to, but be indeed like, the plebeians; whence enſued the

changing of coats of arms, and alterations of the titles of families, which the nobles ſubmitted to, to level themſelves with the people; whereby that valour in war, and generoſity of mind, once in the gentry, was quite extinguiſhed, and in the people who never had any, it was impoſſible to kindle it. So that Florence, from time to time, became ſtill more vile and abject: and whereas Rome, converting its virtue into pride, had brought itſelf to thoſe terms, that without having a prince it could no longer ſupport it own greatneſs; Florence was fallen ſo low, that any prudent lawgiver might model it into what form of government he pleaſed. Which things, by reading the former book, may in part be clearly diſcerned; and having already ſhewn the foundations of its liberty, with the cauſes of its diviſions, and how the factions of the nobility and people ended with the tyranny of the duke of Athens, and therein of the gentry, there remains ſtill to recount the ſkirmiſhes between the citizens and plebeians, and what effects they produced.

The power of the nobility tamed, and the war with the archbiſhop of Milan ended, one would have thought there had not been left in Florence any occaſion of ſcandal or diviſion: but the ill fortune of our city, and its want of good orders, permitted a difference to ariſe between the families of the Albizi and Ricci, which divided Florence no leſs, than that firſt of the Bundelmonti and Uberti, and afterwards of the Donati and Cerchi, had done it.

The popes, whoſe ſeat was now in France, and the emperors, whoſe conſtant reſidence was now in Germany, to maintain their reputation in Italy, at divers times had of divers nations, ſent multitudes of ſoldiers thither; inſomuch, that at this time there were Engliſh, Dutch, Britans, and many others. Theſe, the wars ended, being left without pay or entertainment, under a banner of fortune, forced now one prince, and then another, to come to compoſition with them. In the year thirteen hundred and fifty-three, comes one of theſe companies into Tuſcany, commanded by Monſigneur Reale, a Provencial, whoſe coming frightened all the cities of that province; and Florence did not only on the account of the public make proviſion of defence, but many private citizens, and among them, the Albizi and Ricci took arms for their particular ſafety. Theſe two had an implacable grudge in their hearts, and contrived all ways, the better to raiſe themſelves to the principality, how to oppreſs each other; but yet they had not proceeded to blows, only they contended in the magiſtracy, and in the council.

The city then being, upon this occaſion, all in arms, there happened a fray in the Old Market, where multitudes of people, as is uſual in like caſes, were aſſembled, and the noiſe increaſing, word was carried to the Ricci, that the Albizi would aſſault them; and to the Albizi, that the Ricci were coming to fall upon them. Upon which the whole city riſe, and the magiſtrates had much ado to reſtrain either of the families, or hinder that fight,

which by chance only, and neither parties fault, was falſly rumoured.

This accident, though a ſlight one, added fuel to the fire of their ſecret anger and malice, making each party with more diligence endeavour and ſeek to gain himſelf aſſociates and friends. And becauſe the citizens, by the ruin of the great men, were reduced to ſuch an equality, that the magiſtrates were had in much greater reverence than before; they reſolved by the ordinary way, without any particular violence, to oppreſs each other.

We have declared before, that after the victory of Charles the firſt, the magiſtracy was created wholly out of the faction of the Guelfs, ſo great authority had they gained over the Ghibellines; but time, various accidents, and new diviſions, had ſo blotted out the memory of that inſtitution, that many, deſcended from the Ghibellines, got to be of the prime miniſters of ſtate. Whereupon Uguccio de Ricci laboured to get the law againſt the Ghibellines renewed; their family having, many years before, been natives of Azezzo, and from thence come to dwell at Florence. Upon which Uguccio thought, that by renewing that law he ſhould thruſt the Albizi from the magiſtracy, concluding himſelf from that clauſe, that any one deſcended from a Ghibelline ſhould be condemned, if he took upon him the office of a magiſtrate.

This deſign being diſcovered to Peter, the ſon of Philip of the Albizi, he determined to ſecond it, leaſt by ſingly approving it, he ſhould declare him-

ſelf a Ghibelline. And this law, thus by the other's ambition revived, inſtead of taking away, added reputation to Peter Albizi; but was the cauſe of many miſchiefs that enſued. For no law can be more hurtful and dangerous to a commonwealth, than that which looks into times paſt: Peter, therefore, by favouring the revival of this law, made, what his enemies deſigned a hinderance, to be a ſtep to his greatneſs; for becoming principal of this new order, he ever after aſſumed more authority, being the ſole favourite of this new faction of Guelfs. And becauſe no magiſtrate was appointed to ſearch out who were Ghibellines, and ſo this law became of little ſtead, he took order that the captains were appointed to make inquiſition after the Ghibellines, and having found them out, admoniſh them, that they ſhould not take any magiſtracy upon them: hence all thoſe in Florence, who were made incapable of bearing any office, were call Ammoniti, or the Admoniſhed.

The captains, in a ſhort time, grown bold in their new charge, without any kind of reſpect, not only admoniſhed thoſe who deſerved it, but whoever they thought fit; as their avarice or ambition led them. And, from the year thirteen hundred and fifty-ſeven, when this order firſt began, to the year thirteen hundred and ſixty-ſix, above two hundred citizens were admoniſhed. Whereby, the captains and the faction of the Guelfs were become ſo potent, that every one honoured them for fear of being admoniſhed; and eſpecially the heads of them,

which were Peter Albizi, ſignior Lapo de Caſtiglionchio, and Charles Strozzi. And though this inſolent kind of proceeding diſpleaſed many, yet none were more afflicted than the Ricci, conſcious to themſelves of being the authors of this diſorder; by which they beheld the commonwealth ruined, and their enemies, the Albizi, contrary to their intent, grown more powerful. Wherefore Uguccio de Ricci, coming to be one of the lords, ſtrove to put an end to theſe miſeries, which he and his aſſociates had given a beginning to; and by a new law provided, that to the ſix captains of the wards, three ſhould be added; of which, two to be choſen among the meaneſt handicrafts, enacting, that all declared Ghibellines ſhould, by twenty-four citizens, Guelfs, deputed in a manner of a grand jury, be confirmed by full verdict; whereby the captains authority was ſomewhat qualified, and the trick of admoniſhing began to grow cold. However, the factions of the Albizi and Ricci ſtood each upon their guard, and in all laws, enterprizes, or councils, were, out of a particular hate, to each other contradictory. Under theſe diſtempers they laboured from the year thirteen hundred and ſixty-ſix to thirteen hundred and ſeventy-one, when the faction of the Guelfs recovered its power.

There was of the family of the Buondelmonti a cavalier called ſignior Benchi, who, for his valour in the war againſt the Piſans, was made one of the people, and conſequently capable of being elected, and ſitting among the ſenators: but when he ex-

pected to take his place in the ſignory, a law was made, that no nobleman, though made one of the people, ſhould exerciſe that office. This act mightily diſpleaſed ſignior Benchi, and joining himſelf with Peter Albizi, they determined, with the admonition, to cruſh the meaner people, and keep the whole government to themſelves. And by virtue of the favour ſignior Benchi had with the ancient nobility, and Peter Albizi, with the powerful commons, they revived the power of the Guelf faction, and by a new reformation of the wards, ordered matters ſo, that the captains and twenty-four citizens were at their diſpoſal: ſo that now they grew bolder with their admonitions than ever before, and the houſe of the Albizi, as heads of this faction, ſtill grew greater. On the other ſide, the Ricci, with their colleagues, were not wanting to hinder their proceedings as much as in them lay; ſo that both lived in continual jealouſy, each daily fearing their ruin.

For theſe cauſes, many of the citizens, ſtirred up out of love to their country, met together in the church of St. Peter Scheraggio; and reaſoning about theſe diſorders among themſelves, the ſenate came thither, to whom, one of the greateſt authority amongſt them, ſpoke in manner following.

'We were many of us doubtful, moſt worthy 'lords, of aſſembling ourſelves together upon a 'public occaſion by private orders, thinking we 'might be cenſured as too preſumptuous, or con-'demned as too ambitious. But conſidering that

'many citizens, without any notice taken of them, 'not for any public benefit, but to ſatisfy their 'own private ambition, do daily in ſtreets and houſ- 'es confer together; we judged, that if they who 'aſſembled themſelves to conſult the ruin of the 'commonwealth are not afraid, they ought leſs to 'ſtand in fear, whoſe meeting is deſigned for pub- 'lic good and advantage: nor care we what others 'judge of us, ſince they eſteem not at all our cen- 'ſures of them.

'That love, moſt worthy lords, which we bear 'our country, firſt aſſembled us here, and has now 'invited you hither, to reaſon of thoſe miſchiefs 'already grown too great among us, and which vi- 'olently increaſe in this our republic, and to offer 'you our aſſiſtance to remedy them. In which, 'you may, though the undertaking be difficult, 'ſucceed, if laying aſide private intereſt, you will, 'with public power, make uſe of your authority.

'The common diſtemper of all the cities of Ita- 'ly, worthy lords, has infected, and does ſtill in- 'fect our city: for, ſince this province withdrew 'itſelf from under the empire, the cities in it, for 'want of a powerful bridle to curb them, have not 'ordered their eſtates and government as free, but 'like people divided into ſects and factions: hence 'ſprung all thoſe miſchiefs, and all thoſe diſorders 'which afflict them. There was not at firſt any 'union or friendſhip among the citizens, unleſs a- 'mong thoſe, combined together in ſome private 'malice, or wickedneſs againſt their country. And

'all fear of God, and reſpect to religion, being ba-
'niſhed from among men, oaths and ſolemn engage-
'mens are become of no farther avail, than as they
'redound to profit, and men make uſe of them, not to
'keep them, but that they may with more facility de-
'ceive; and the more eaſy and ſecure the cheat is, the
'more glory and praiſe is gained: thus wicked men are
'applauded as induſtrious, and the good reproached
'as fools. And the truth is, that in whatever, ei-
'ther of itſelf is infectious, or can infect others, is
'crouded and amaſſed together. The young men
'are idle, and the old laſcivious; and every ſex, and
'every age is corrupted with evil manners: to
'which, good laws, over-ruled by bad cuſtoms,
'can afford no remedy. Hence ariſes that avarice
'we behold in our citizens; and that appetite, not
'of true glory, but of reproachful honours, which
'beget hate, enmity, diſcord, and faction; and
'theſe are the parents of death, baniſhment, op-
'preſſion of good men, and exaltation of bad. For
'the good, relying upon their innocency, ſeek not,
'like the wicked, extraordinary means of defence
'and honour, and ſo, undefended and unregarded
'are ruined.

'From example of which ſprings the love of
'parties, and the fame creates their power; for the
'wicked, out of avarice and ambition, and the good,
'out of neceſſity, follow them: and what is moſt
'of all pernicious is, to ſee the authors and mov-
'ers of theſe ſeditions cloak their ends and intenti-
'ons with a pious name; for though they be all

'enemies of liberty, they all oppreſs us under colour 'of ſetting up an ariſtocracy, or a democracy. For 'the reward of victory which they aim at, is not, 'to have the glory of having freed the city, but 'the ſatisfaction of having overcome others, and 'uſurped the principality; whither having once 'reached, what act is there ſo unjuſt, ſo cruel, or 'ſo avaritious, which they will not attempt? Thus 'laws and ordinances are made for private, not for 'public intereſt. Hence war, and peace, and alli-'ances are contracted, not for general glory, but 'particular ſatisfaction; and if other cities are ſul-'lied with theſe ſpots, ours is blotted all over; for 'the laws, ſtatutes, and civil edicts, are not made 'or enacted in order to the peoples freedom, but 'according to the ambition of that party who has 'got the upper hand; whence it follows, that one 'party driven out, and one faction extinct, ano-'ther preſently ſtarts up. For in that city that 'would maintain itſelf by parties rather than by 'law, as ſoon as any party comes to remain in it 'without any oppoſition, it muſt of neceſſity divide 'itſelf from thoſe peculiar acts, which for its own 'ſafety it at firſt eſtabliſhed.

'And this to be a truth, both the ancient and 'modern diviſions of our city teſtify. Every one 'thought, the Ghibellines once deſtroyed, the 'Guelfs might for a long time have lived in honour 'and happineſs. Yet ſoon after they were divided 'into Bianchi and Neri. At laſt the Bianchi over-'come, yet the city never was free from factions.

'Sometimes we were fighting in favour of the exiles; ſometimes to decree the quarrel between the nobles and people: and at length, giving others what we ourſelves could not, or would not, poſſeſs in quiet, we ſubmitted our liberty firſt to king Robert, then to his brother, then to his ſon, and laſt of all to the duke of Athens. Yet in no ſtate or condition could we find repoſe, but were like people who could neither agree to live in freedom, nor be content with ſervitude. Nor were we aſhamed, ſo far are our very conſtitutions diſpoſed to diviſion! whilſt yet we lived under the king's authority, to poſtpone the majeſty of a prince, to the government of a vile man born in Agobbio. For the honour of this city we ſhould forbear any mention of the duke of Athens, whoſe cruel and tyrannical carriage ſhould have made us wiſe, and taught us how to live: yet, no ſooner was he driven hence, but our arms were in our hands, and we, with more rancour and malice than ever we had done before, fighting one againſt another, till the antient nobility was quite ſuppreſſed, and ſubmitted to the arbitriment of the people.

'And now many promiſed themſelves, there would never more be any occaſion of ſcandal or diviſion in Florence; they being now bridled, whoſe pride and inſupportable ambition was judged the cauſe of all. But we this day ſee by experience, how fallacious the thoughts of man are, and how falſe his judgment; for the pride and

'ambition of the nobles was not rooted out, but 'tranſplanted into the people, who now purſuing 'ſwiftly the footſteps of thoſe ambitious men, ſeek 'to attain the higheſt degrees in the commonwealth; 'and having no other way to climb within reach of 'them, but diſcord, divided the city afreſh, reviving 'again the names of Guelf and Ghibelline, which 'were quite forgot, and which it had been well for 'this commonwealth if we never had known.

'Heaven has ordered, to the end that nothing 'human ſhould boaſt either perpetuity or conſtan-'cy, that all commonwealths ſhould harbour ſome 'fatal families, born only for their ruin. With 'theſe, our republic has more than any other a-'bounded; for not one, but many have been diſturb-'ers and afflicters of it; as firſt the Buondelmonti 'and Uberti, then the Donati and Corchi, and 'now, oh ſhameful and ridiculous! the Ricci and 'Albizi, diſturb and divide us. We have not put 'you in mind of our corrupt manners, and antient 'and continual diviſions, to terrify you; but to 'refreſh your memories with the occaſions from 'whence they ſprung, and to let you ſee that we 'remember them as well as you: and withal to tell 'you, that former examples ſhould not make you 'deſpair of ſuppreſſing theſe. For thoſe antient 'families were ſo mighty, and their power with 'princes ſo great, that civil ways and means were 'not ſufficient to bridle them. But, now that the 'empire is weak, and the pope no longer to be 'dreaded, but all Italy, and this city, brought into

'an equality, that they may of themſelves govern 'themſelves, the difficulty is not great. And this 'our republic may, notwithſtanding old examples 'ſeem to contradict it, not only maintain itſelf unit-'ed, but reform itſelf with good manners and ci-'vil conſtitutions; provided your lordſhips diſpoſe 'yourſelves to the work; to which we, moved out 'of charity to our country, and not out of any pri-'vate paſſion, exhort you. And though the re-'formation of a ſtate be it itſelf a mighty taſk, yet 'do but take away thoſe diſtempers that afflict it, 'that rage which frets it, and that poiſon that 'ſwells it; and impute the ancient diſorders, not 'to the nature of the men, but to the times, which 'being changed, you may now by applying better 'rules, hope for better ſucceſs; for the malignity 'may with prudence be overcome, by putting a 'bridle to the ambition of diſturbers; aboliſhing 'thoſe laws which are the nouriſhers of ſedition, 'and enacting ſuch as are congruous to true civili-'ty and liberty. And apply yourſelves as ſoon as 'you can, to do it by the gentle and favourable 'aſſiſtance of laws, leſt if you delay, men be con-'ſtrained to do it by force of arms.'

The lords touched to the quick with what they were before conſcious of, and moved with their authority and exhortations, gave commiſſion to fifty-ſix citizens to provide for the ſafety of the commonwealth. It is moſt true, that many heads are more proper to keep firm and ſtable good conſtitutions,

than to invent new ones. Theſe citizens conſulted more how to quell the preſent factions, than to remove opportunities or occaſions of future diviſions, and at length attained neither to one nor the other; for occaſions of new factions they took not away, and from theſe which they watched over, they raiſed up one more potent, and dangerous to the republic. However, three of the family of the Albizi, and three of the Ricci, of which Peter Albizi and Uguccio Ricci were two, they made incapable for three years of bearing any office in the magiſtracy, excepting that on the party of the Guelfs.

They likewiſe prohibited all citizens entering the palace, unleſs in ſuch time as the magiſtrates ſat. They enacted, that whoever was beaten, or had their goods unlawfully detained, might, by petition, accuſe the parties to the councils, and having convicted them, leave it to their ſentence. This order took away all power from the faction of the Ricci, and increaſed that of the Albizi; for although they were equally marked, yet the Ricci ſuffered the moſt. For though Peter was ſhut out of the palace of the lords, yet that of the Guelfs, where he had the greateſt authority, was open to him; and if he and his followers were before warm in giving out their admonitions, they now grew thoroughly hot; and to this ill diſpoſition new diſguſts were added.

Pope Gregory the eleventh ſat now in the chair, and reſiding in Avignon, governed, as his predeceſſors had done, Italy by his legates, who, being ge-

nerally proud and covetous, had afflicted many cities. One of theſe, being about this time at Bologna, took occaſion from the famine which was that year in Florence, and thought to make himſelf lord of Tuſcany, and not only forbore to ſupply the Florentines with proviſion, but to put them out of hopes of any harveſt: for no ſooner did the ſpring appear, but he invaded them with a great army, hoping he might, finding them diſarmed and half ſtarved, eaſily ſubdue them. And poſſibly he had ſucceeded in his enterprize, had not his army been treacherous and mercenary. For the Florentines ſeeing no other remedy, gave his ſoldiers one hundred and thirty thouſand florins, and made them relinquiſh the attempt.

We may begin wars when we pleaſe, but cannot end them ſo. This war, begun by the ambition of the legates, was continued by the revenge of the Florentines, who entered into league with ſignior Barnaby, and all thoſe cities which were enemies to the church; and they created a council of eight citizens to manage this war, giving them power to act without appeal, and ſpend without accompt. This war againſt the church, notwithſtanding that Uguccio was dead, ſomewhat raiſed up the heads of the faction of the Ricci, who had always in oppoſition to the Albizi favoured ſignior Barnaby, and diſfavoured the church; and the more, becauſe the council of the eight were all enemies to the family of the Guelfs; which made Peter Albizi, ſignior Lapo de Caſtiglionchio, Charles

Strozzi, and many more, conſult together how they might offend their enemies. And whilſt the eight made war, they admoniſhed.

The war laſted three years, and termined not but with the pope's death; and was managed with ſo much valour and univerſal ſatisfaction, that the magiſtracy was every year prorogued to the eight, and they were called Saints, though they ſlighted excommunications, ſpoiled the churches, and forced the clergy; ſo much greater value ſet thoſe citizens of that time upon their city than their ſouls! letting the church underſtand, that as its friends they could defend it, ſo as its enemies they could afflict it; for they made all Romania, La Marca, and Perugia rebel.

But whilſt they made ſo ſucceſsful a war againſt the pope, they could not againſt the captains of the wards and their faction defend themſelves; for the envy the Guelfs bore to the council of eight, gave an addition to their boldneſs, ſo that, to omit what they did to other noble citizens, they could not abſtain from injuring ſome of the eight themſelves. And to ſuch arrogance were the captains of the wards arrived, that they were more feared than the ſenators, and with leſs reverence were addreſſes made to theſe than to them, and more was the palace of that faction in eſteem than theirs; inſomuch that there came no ambaſſadors to Florence, but who had commiſſion to the captains.

Pope Gregory then being dead, and the city having no more wars abroad, yet lived within in great

confuſion; for on one ſide the arrogancy of the Guelfs was inſupportable, and on the other they could perceive no way to quell it; ſo that they judged it a matter of neceſſity to come to a trial by dint of ſword, and ſee which of the two parties could prevail. On the Guelfs ſide were all the antient nobles, with moſt of the ableſt citizens, among whom as we ſaid ſignior Lapo, Peter, and Charles were the principal: on the other were all the meaner ſort of the people, of whom the leaders were the council of eight, commiſſioners of the war, ſignior George Scali, Thomas Strozzi, to whom the Ricci, Alberti, and Medici adhered. The remainder of the multitude, as is uſual in ſuch caſes, joined themſelves with the diſcontented party.

The chief of the faction of the Guelfs began to think their enemies ſtrength formidable, and their danger great, whenever a ſignory, chancing to be choſen out of their enemies, ſhould preſs down the balance: which thinking to prevent they met together, where they diligently examined the ſtate of the city, and their own condition, and upon the whole, it appeared to them that the admoniſhed, being increaſed to ſuch numbers, had laid ſuch a load of infamy upou them, that the whole city was become their enemies. To which they ſaw no other remedy, but as they had taken their honours from them, ſo to drive them out of the city, poſſeſſing themſelves by force of the palace of the lords, and ſeizing all the government into their own hands; in imitation of the antient Guelfs, who had never liv-

ed ſecurely in the city, had they not chaſed thence all their adverſaries. Every one agreed to the thing, but they diſagreed in the time.

It was now the year thirteen hundred and ſeventy-eight, and the month of April, and ſignior Lapo thought it not fit to delay time, affirming nothing ſo prejudicial to time as time, eſpecially to them, conſidering that, in the next ſignory, Silveſter Medici might eaſily be made Gonfalonier, whom they knew an enemy to their party. On the other ſide, Peter Albizi was for ſome time of reſpite, for he judged it neceſſary to have ſome forces in a readineſs, and thoſe could not be well gathered together without diſcovery, and a diſcovery muſt needs be very dangerous. He therefore propoſed the deferring it till St. John's day near at hand; at which time, that being the moſt ſolemn feſtival the city kept, ſuch multitudes would be running thither, that they might hide whom, and as many as they pleaſed: and to ſecure them from the fear of Sylveſter he would admoniſh him; and leaſt that ſhould not do, he put into the election one of the fraternity of his quarter, ſo that drawing out the lots, the purſes being empty, the lot might probably light on ſome other of his companions. Upon this then they determined, though ſignior Lapo was much againſt it, judging delay dangerous, and alleging, that no time in the world was ever convenient in all points; ſo that he that waits till every thing falls to his mind, muſt either never attempt any thing, or if he does attempt, do

it to his diſadvantage. They therefore admoniſhed the fraternity; but it would not do, nor could they hinder Silveſter from being choſen; for the council of eight, perceiving the trick, prevented the change from being drawn. Silveſter de Alammano de Medici was thereupon allowed for Gonfalonier.

He, being one of the greateſt families among the people, could not endure to ſee the commons oppreſſed by a few rich men; and having in himſelf determined to ſuppreſs this inſolency, ſeeing the plebeians favourable to him, and many of the richeſt of the people inclinable, he communicated his deſign to Bennet Alberti, Thomas Strozzi, and ſignior George Scali, who promiſed to bring him all the help they could. They therefore privately formed a law which renewed the orders of juſtice among the grandees, retrenched the power of the captains of the wards, and made way for the admoniſhed to be recalled to their dignities: and that in the ſame time they might make trial and obtain, having firſt the college, and then the councils to debate with, and Silveſter being provoſt, which degree, for the time it laſts, makes him as it were prince of the city, on the ſame morning, ſummons the college and councils; and firſt to the college, apart from the other, propoſes the law to be enacted; which, as a new thing, met with ſo much diſlike, that though the number aſſembled were but few, he could not obtain it.

Whereupon Silveſter ſeeing that force was the

readieſt way to get it granted, he pretends to go out upon a neceſſary occaſion, and ere any was aware of him, hies him to the council, and mounting on a place where every one might ſee and hear him, tells them: 'That he thought he had been choſen 'Gonfalonier, not to be judge of private cauſes, 'for which ordinary judges were appointed; but 'to watch for the commonwealth, to correct the 'inſolence of the mighty, and temper thoſe laws, 'by the abuſe of which, the republic was now 'running to ruin: that he had with diligence and 'care weighed theſe things, and, as far as in him 'lay, made due proviſion; but the malignity of 'men oppoſing his juſt intentions, his power of 'doing good was taken away, and they might hear, 'but could no more debate it. Wherefore, ſeeing 'he could no longer be helpful to the common-'wealth, he knew not why he ſhould hold that 'magiſtracy, which either indeed he did not de-'ſerve, or at leaſt, others thought he did not; and 'therefore he would retire home, that the people, 'might chuſe, in his place, one of greater virtue, 'or better fortune than himſelf.' And concluding theſe words, he went outof the council towards his houſe.

Thoſe who were in the council, and privy to the matter, and others deſirous of novelty, preſently raiſed a rumour, to which the lords, and the college ran; and ſeeing their Gonfalonier going away, with intreaties and authority they ſtopt him, and made him return into the council, which was now in a tumult.

And many prime citizens were threatened with injurious words, among whom Charles Strozzi was, by an artificer, taken by the throat, and he would have killed him, had not the by-ſtanders with much ado reſcued him. But he that moſt of all encouraged the tumult, and drew the people to arms, was Bennet Alberti, who, from the palace windows with a loud voice, cried out to arms, and preſently the whole place was full of armed men. Whereupon the college, who firſt of all, upon intreaty, would not yield, now threatened and terrified, conſented.

The captains of the wards at the ſame time had aſſembled a great many citizens in their palace, to conſult what they ſhould do to defend themſelves againſt the orders of the lords. But when they heard the alarm, and underſtood what was determined in council, every man fled to his houſe. However, let none raiſe an alteration in a city, upon a fond belief, that he can ſtop it when he pleaſes, and reſtrain it as he liſt. It was Silveſter's intention by creating this law, to quiet the city, but it ſucceeded otherwiſe; for the humours once moved had in ſuch a manner incenſed every one, that the ſhops were not open: but the citizens fortified themſelves in their houſes, and many hid their goods in churches and monaſteries, as if all feared an approaching danger. The company of artizans aſſembled, and had each body choſe them a ſyndic; whereupon their priors ſummoned their college and

thoſe of the ſyndics, and had a whole day's conſultation how the city might, to every one's ſatisfaction, be quieted; but being of different judgments they could not agree.

The day following, the artizans drew forth their banners, which the lords hearing, and doubting what might follow, ſummoned the council to conſult a remedy: but ſcarce was it aſſembled, and the rumour ſpread abroad, but preſently the enſigns of the trades, and multitudes of armed men following them, were in the place. Upon which the council, to give the trades and people wherewith to content their hopes, gave general power, which they call in Florence BALIA, to the lords, the colleges, and the eight, the captains of the wards, and the trades, to reform the ſtate for the beſt advantage to the public. But whilſt this was concluding, ſome of the companies of the trades, together with the rabble, ſet on by thoſe who deſired to revenge the late injuries received by the Guelfs, ſeparating themſelves from the reſt, ſacked and burnt the palace of ſignior Lapo de Caſtiglionchio; who, as ſoon as he heard the ſignory was attempting ſomething againſt the ordinances of the Guelfs, and ſaw the people in arms; having no other remedy, but either to conceal himſelf, or fly; firſt hid himſelf in the monaſtery of the holy croſs, and thence in a friar's habit fled to Carintino, where he was often heard repent, that ever he had conſented to Peter Albizi, and to rail at Peter, for having moved the forbearing to ſeize the government till St. John's day.

But Peter and Charles Strozzi, in the firſt beginning of the tumults, hid themſelves, believing, this once over, they had kindred and friends enough to ſecure their ſtay in Florence. Signior Lapo's houſe burnt, for miſchiefs are hardly begun, but eaſily run on, many other houſes were, either out of general hatred, or private malice, ſacked and burnt: and that they might have companions, that with more ſkill in villany might aſſiſt them in plundering other mens goods, they ſacked the monaſtery of St. Agnolo, and the convent of the holy Spirit, where many citizens had hid their goods. Nor had the public treaſury eſcaped the hands of theſe thieves, if by their reſpect and reverence to one of the lords, it had not been defended, who on horſe-back, with many men at arms following him, in the beſt manner he could, oppoſed himſelf to the rage of the multitude.

At length, the popular fury ſomewhat mitigated, what by the authority of the lords, and what by the approach of night. The day following the balia extended their favours to the admoniſhed, but on condition they ſhould not for three years bear any office in the magiſtracy. They annulled all laws made by the Guelfs, in prejudice of the citizens. They proclaimed rebels Lapo de Caſtigliochio and his conſorts, with ſome others generally hated. After which, the new lords were declared, to whom was Gonfalionier, Lewis Guicciardine, which gave great hopes of putting a ſtop to all tumults, becauſe every one had an opinion they were peaceable men,

and lovers of the public repoſe. Yet the ſhops were not opened, nor did the citizens lay down their arms, but kept ſtrong guards up and down the city: wherefore the lords received not the magiſtracy without the palace, with the uſual pomp, but within, and there too without the obſervation of any ceremony.

Theſe ſenates judged nothing of more concern could be done in the beginning of their magiſtracy, than pacifying the city; wherefore they made them lay down their arms, open their ſhops, and ſent thoſe countrymen the citizens had called in to their aſſiſtance home; they placed guards in many places of the city, ſo that, if the admoniſhed could have been quiet, the city had been at peace; but they were not content to ſtay three years for their honours, inſomuch, that the trades once more drew together in their favour, and demanded of the ſenate, that for the good and quiet of the city, they would enact, that for the future no citizen, in no time, either of the ſenate, the college, or fraternities, the captains of the wards, or conſuls of the trades, ſhould be admoniſhed as Ghibelines; and that moreover new purſes ſhould be made of the Guelf party, and the old ones burnt. Theſe demands were not only by the lords of the ſenate, but by all the councils preſently accepted: ſo that now it was generally thought theſe new raiſed tumults would be ſtopt too. But becauſe men can never be ſatisfied with recovering their own, but are greedy likewiſe to ſeize ſomewhat of other mens in re-

venge; thoſe, whoſe hopes and ſtock lay in theſe diſorders, put it in the peoples heads, that they could never be ſafe unleſs many of their enemies were driven out and deſtroyed: which being repreſented to the lords, they ſummoned before them the magiſtrates of the trades, with their ſyndics, to whom Lewis Guicciardine, Gonfalonier, ſpoke in this manner.

'Had not theſe lords, and I together with them, 'known long time ſince the fortune of the city, 'that as ſoon as wars are ceaſed abroad they muſt 'begin at home, we ſhould have much wondered 'at theſe tumults that have happened, and taken 'them more to heart: but, becauſe things we are 'accuſtomed to, bring leſs trouble along with them, 'we have born the paſt riots with patience; eſpe-'cially, ſince they were without any fault of ours 'begun, and hoping they, according to former 'examples, would have an end, when we had com-'plied with you in ſo many great and weighty de-'mands. But ſeeing that you are not appeaſed, 'but ſtill inſiſt that we commit freſh injuries againſt 'the citizens, condemning them to exile and death, 'our diſpleaſure is increaſed with your injuſtice: 'and truly had we believed that in the time of our 'magiſtracy, this our city, either by oppoſing or 'complying with you, muſt have been ruined, we 'had either by death or baniſhment freed ourſelves 'from theſe humours. But judging we were to 'meet with men that had in them ſome humanity,

'and love to their country, we willingly under-
'took the magiſtracy, believing that our clemency
'would over-rule your ambition. But now we
'find by experience, that the more humbly we de-
'port ourſelves to you, and the more we grant
'you, the prouder ſtill you grow, and more ex-
'travagant are your demands. And if we tell you
'this, it is not to offend you, but to make you
'take it into conſideration; for we would have
'another tell you what pleaſes you, but we muſt
'tell you what is for your good.

'Tell me now upon your honeſty, tell us what
'is it you can civilly deſire of us, which we have
'not granted? You would have the captains of
'the wards authority taken away; done it is. You
'would have the purſes burnt, and reformed ones
'to be made; we have conſented to it. You
'would have the admoniſhed reſtored to their ho-
'nours; the requeſt is admitted. At your deſire,
'we have pardoned thoſe that burnt and ſacked
'the houſes, and have ſent into baniſhment many
'honourable and worthy citizens, only for your
'ſatisfaction. The power of the great is to pleaſe
'you, by new laws reſtrained. What end will you
'put to your deſires, or how long will you abuſe
'your liberty? Are you not moved, to behold
'us with more patience bear the defeat, than you
'the victory? To what will theſe diviſions bring
'this city? Do not you remember how, when
'you were once divided, Caſtrucchio, a mean citi-
'zen of Lucca, over-awed you; that the duke of

'Athens, a private leader, ſubjected you? But 'when you were united, not an archbiſhop of Mi-'lan, nay, not a pope, could do it; but after ſome 'years wars were forced to deſiſt with ſhame. 'Why will you, with your diſcords in time of 'peace, enſlave that city, which ſo many power-'ful enemies in time of war left free? What can 'you expect from your diviſions, but ſervitude? 'or, what hope from the goods you have ſtolen, 'or ſhall ſteal, but poverty? For you have taken 'from thoſe, who, with their induſtry, maintain-'ed our whole city; whom ſpoiling of the goods, 'you ſpoil the city of her nouriſhment. For thoſe 'who have ſeized them, being ill-got goods, will 'never know how to keep them; whence of ne-'ceſſity muſt follow hunger and poverty in the ci-'ty. I, and theſe lords, command you, and if 'honour will permit it, intreat you, that you would 'once ſettle your minds, and reſt ſatisfied with 'what we have enacted in your favour; or, if you 'would yet have any thing more, deſire it civilly, 'and make not your demands with arms and tu-'mult: for whilſt you are juſt and reaſonable, you 'ſhall always be pleaſed. Give not then opportu-'nity to wicked men, at your coſt and charge, and 'under your protection, to ruin this your coun-'try.'

Theſe words, becauſe they were true, touched thoſe citizens to the ſoul, and they kindly thanked the Gonfalonier, for having acted with them like a good lord, and with the city like a good citizen,

offering ready obedience to whatever was committed to them. And to put them in a way to perform their promiſe, the lords deputed two citizens for each of the chief magiſtracies, who, together with the ſyndics of the trades, were to conſult of what was neceſſary for eſtabliſhing public peace, and refer it to the lords.

Whilſt theſe things were in agitation, aroſe another tumult, which more than any of the former diſturbed the commonwealth. Moſt of the burnings and robberies that happened the days preceding, were committed by the very ſcum of the people; and thoſe who had been the boldeſt and forwardeſt among them were afraid, that when the greater differences were quieted and compoſed, they ſhould be called to account, and puniſhed for their villanies; and, as it always happens, be left forſaken by thoſe who had ſet them on: to which was added. the hatred which the labouring people bore to the wealthy citizens, and maſters of trades, not believing themſelves ſo well ſatisfied for their labour as they juſtly deſerved. For in the time of Charles the firſt, when the city was divided into trades, every one had a maſter or governor; and it was enacted, that in all civil cauſes thoſe maſters ſhould be judges between the inferior people of that trade.

Theſe trades, as we have ſaid before, were at firſt but twelve; in proceſs of time they came to be twenty-one, and grew to ſuch power, that in few years they took upon them the government of the whole city. And, becauſe among them there were

ſome trades more honourable, and ſome leſs, they were divided, and ſeven were called the greater, and fourteen the leſs.

From this diviſion, and other cauſes before recited, ſprung the arrogance of the captains of the companies; for thoſe citizens who had antiently been Guelfs, and under whoſe jurisdiction that magiſtracy was always ſworn, continually favoured the people of the higher degrees, and perſecuted thoſe of the meaner, with their friends and defenders; and hence aroſe the many tumults we have related amongſt them. But becauſe, ordinarily, many of thoſe handicrafts, to which the meaneſt of the people applied themſelves, were annexed to the bodies of other trades, without having particular companies of their own arts, but ſubmitting themſelves according to their various myſteries to others, it often happened, that when either they were not ſatisfied for their labour, or thought themſelves any way oppreſſed by their maſters, they had no other refuge, but to the magſtrate of that trade which governed them, whom they thought did not do them equal juſtice: and of all the companies that had ſuch people under them, the wool-trade had the moſt, which was the richeſt, firſt, and moſt powerful of all, and which by their induſtry fed, and doth feed, the greateſt part of the meaneſt and labouring people.

The plebeians then, as well thoſe of the woollen-drapers company as of the others, being mightily enraged for the reaſons above expreſſed,

and withal full of fear for the riots and robberies they had committed, met many times together by night, diſcourſing the matters that had happened, and laying before one another the danger they were in; where one of the boldeſt, and of the greateſt experience, to animate the reſt, ſpoke thus.

'Were we now to conſult, whether we were to 'take arms to burn, and rob the houſes of the ci- 'tizens, or violate the churches, I ſhould be one 'of thoſe ſhould judge it fit to be firſt conſidered, 'and poſſibly adviſe it as better, to be content with 'quiet poverty, than hazardous gain: but ſince 'arms are taken up, and many miſchiefs done, I 'think our buſineſs is to conſult how we may not 'here leave off, or if we do, how we ſhall ſecure 'ourſelves for what is paſt. I am of the mind, 'were there nothing elſe to teach us, neceſſity it- 'ſelf does it. You ſee all the city filled with com- 'plaints, and hatred againſt us; the citizens con- 'ſulting, and the lords contriving with the magi- 'ſtrates: believe me, they are enacting halters, 'and ſtudying ſnares, to entrap us. Two things 'we are therefore to look to; firſt, that we may 'not, for what is done, be to-morrow puniſhed: 'and then, that we may hereafter live with more 'liberty and ſatisfaction than formerly. To the 'firſt, it is in my judgment convenient, that to 'procure pardon for our former faults, we com- 'mit new, adding miſchief to miſchief, doubling 'our robberies and ruins, and endeavouring to en- 'gage what companions we can; for where all of-

'fend, none are puniſhed; and ſmall faults are cor-
'rected, but great crimes rewarded; for where ma-
'ny ſuffer, few ſeek revenge; general injuries be-
'ing born with more patience, than particular
'ones. The multiplying then of our miſchiefs will
'be the means to get no pardon, and ſet us in a
'path to arrive at thoſe ſweets of liberty we deſire.
'And in my mind the purchaſe is certain; for thoſe
'who ſhould hinder us from it are divided and rich;
'their diviſions will give us the victory, and their
'riches, becoming ours, maintain it. Nor let that
'antiquity of blood, with which they upbraid us,
'affright you: all men, having had the ſame be-
'ginning, are equal in blood; and all made after
'the ſame manner. Let us be all ſtript naked, and
'we ſhall appear the ſame. Put us in their cloaths,
'and them in ours, and without doubt we ſhall
'look like nobles, and they like labourers; for no-
'thing but poverty and riches makes a difference
'among men. It grieves me to hear, that many
'of you are troubled in conſcience for what is al-
'ready done, and are loath to do any more; and
'certainly, if it be true, you are not the men I
'took you for; for neither conſcience nor infamy
'ſhould terrify you; thoſe that overcome, let them
'overcome how they will, have no reaſon to be a-
'ſhamed: a fig then for conſcience: ſhall we that
'are in daily fear of being ſtarved or thrown into
'a goal, be frightened with a ſtory of hell? If
'you had but obſerved the courſe of the world,
'you would perceive, that all they which have at-

'tained to great wealth or power, have got it, either by fraud or force; and what they have thus 'uſurped by deceit or violence, to maſk the vitiouſneſs of the action, they call by the title of honeſt 'gain; and thoſe who, for want of wit, or tenderneſs of conſcience, eſchew theſe courſes, are 'always beggars and ſlaves; for the faithful ſervant muſt always be a ſervant, and honeſt men 'always poor: none free themſelves from ſervitude, 'but the faithleſs and the bold; nor from poverty, but the rapacious and fraudulent: for God 'and nature has ſo diſtributed the fortunes of men, 'that are more inclined to rapine than induſtry; 'and more diſpoſed to do miſchief than to do good. 'Hence proceeds it that men devour one another, 'and he always comes to the worſt that dares the 'leaſt.

'We ought therefore to make uſe of that power 'fortune puts in our hands, which could never be 'offered us in a better time; the citizens being ſtill 'divided, the ſenators fearful, the magiſtrates terrified, ſo that it is an eaſy matter, before they 'unite and gather courage, to oppreſs them: 'whereupon we ſhall remain abſolute lords of the 'city, or at leaſt owners of ſo much as will enable 'us not only to procure pardon for our paſt offences, but authorize us to threaten new. I confeſs 'the attempt is bold, and dangerous; but where 'neceſſity pinches, boldneſs is judged prudence; 'and men never weigh danger in great attempts: 'for thoſe enterprizes that are begun with danger,

'end with glory; and we never can eſcape out of 'one danger, but by another: and ſure, when we 'behold priſons, torments, and death preparing, 'we ought rather to fear their infliction on us, 'than think ourſelves ſecure; for the pains are cer-'tain, but the ſafety doubtful. How often have I 'heard you complain of the covetouſneſs of your ſu-'periors, and the injuſtice of your magiſtrates! Now 'is the time, not only to free yourſelves from them, 'but to advance yourſelves to ſuch a ſuperiority over 'them; that they ſhould have more reaſon to complain 'and fear, than you. But the opportunity which 'time has brought us is flying away; and in vain, 'when it is once paſt, ſhall we ſtrive to recall it. 'You ſee the preparations of our enemies, let us 'prevent them in their very thoughts; for the firſt 'of us that gets to arms, will doubtleſs be the con-'queror, to the ruin of his enemy, and advance-'ment of his own party; whereby many of us 'ſhall get honour, and all ſafety.'

Theſe perſuaſions ſet their minds a-boiling, which were before hot enough for any miſchief; where-upon they determined to take arms, as ſoon as they had drawn more accomplices into their party, bind-ing themſelves by oaths to ſuccour each other, when-ever any of them ſhould be oppreſſed by the magi-ſtrate.

Whilſt they were thus preparing to deſtroy the republic, their deſign was diſcovered to the lords; wherefore they got one Simon of the Piazza into their hands, from whom they learned the whole con-

ſpiracy, and how the day following the riot would begin. Whereupon, ſeeing their danger, they ſummoned the colleges, and thoſe citizens, who, together with the ſyndics of the trades, were to conſult about the uniting of the city: the evening was come upon them before all were aſſembled, and the lords were then by them adviſed to ſend for the conſuls of the trades, who all with one conſent counſelled them, that all the men of arms in Florence ſhould be drawn together, and that the ſtandard-bearers of the people ſhould, in the morning early, be with their companies armed in the place before the palace. One Nicolas of Sanfriano was putting in order the clock of the palace, whilſt Simon was tormenting, and the citizens aſſembling, and having underſtood what were the matter was, returning to his houſe, he filled all the neighbourhood with the clamour, inſomuch that on a ſudden, in the place of the holy Spirit, there were above a thouſand men aſſembled. This rumour preſently ſpread among the other conſpirators, and great St. Peter's, and St. Lawrence, were, in an inſtant, filled with armed men: whilſt at the approach of day, which was the twenty-firſt of July, there appeared not above eighty men at arms in the Piazza to ſide with the ſenators, and not one of the ſtandard-bearers; for they, hearing the whole city was in arms, were afraid to ſtir out of their houſes.

The firſt band of the plebeians, that poſſeſſed the Piazza, were thoſe who had rendezvouzed at great St. Peter's; at whoſe arrival the men at arms mov-

ed not: preſently the reſt appeared, and not meeting any oppoſition, with loud and terrible out-cries demanded the priſoners from the ſignory, and to have them by force, if they were not ſurrendered. They then fell to burning the houſe of Lewis Guicciardine; whereupon the lords, for fear of worſe, reſigned them up; and having got them, they took away the ſtandard of juſtice from the executor, and under it burnt the houſes of many citizens, perſecuting all whom, for private or public reaſons, they hated; and many citizens, to wreak their private malice, and revenge particular injuries, led them to the houſes of their enemies: for there needed no more, than crying out amidſt the multitude, to ſuch a houſe, or ſuch an houſe, and he that carried the ſtandard turned towards it. Having done a great deal of miſchief, to allay it with ſome worthy act, they made Silveſter de Medici, and ſo many other citizens, knights, that the whole number amounted to ſixty-four; among whom were Benedicto and Antony Alberti, Thomas Strozzi, and ſuch like of their confidents, though many likewiſe they made by force. But that which in this accident was very remarkable, was, to ſee them burn many houſes, and make the owners the very ſame day knights; ſo cloſe did their favours follow their injuries! whereof Lewis Guicciardine, Gonfalonier of juſtice was one.

The lords, in the midſt of ſo much tumult, ſeeing themſelves abandoned by the men at arms, the heads of the trades, and their own ſtandard-bearers,

were aſtoniſhed; for none, purſuant to the orders given, came to their aſſiſtance, and of ſixteen ſtandards, only that of the Golden Lion, and that of the Cow and Calf, with John Cambi, appeared; and theſe ſtayed but a ſhort time in the Piazza, for ſeeing no others follow them, they likewiſe marched off. The citizens, on the other ſide, beholding the fury of this raging multitude, and the palace forſaken, kept ſome within their houſes, others followed the armed croud, that they might the better, being amongſt them, defend their own and their friends houſes. Thus their power grew ſtronger, and that of the lords decreaſed.

This tumult laſted all day, and night coming on, they ſtopt at the palace of ſignior Stephano, behind St. Barnaby's church. Their number was above ſix thouſand, and before dawn of day, they with threats made the trades ſend in their enſigns. Morning being come, with the ſtandard of juſtice, and the enſigns of the trades, they came before the Podeſta, or mayor's palace, and the Podeſta refuſing to give them poſſeſſion, they fought and overcome him. The lords willing to come to any compoſition with them, ſince they could not tell how to quell them by force, ſent for four of their college, and employed them to go to the mayor's palace to underſtand their minds, who found, that the heads of the plebeians, with the ſyndics of the arts, and ſome citizens, had already determined what they would demand of the ſenate: whereupon, accompanied with four deputed by the rabble, theſe fol-

lowing demands they returned: that the company of wool-merchants might not hereafter have a foreign judge: that three new corporations of trades ſhould be erected; one for the carders and dyers; the other for the barbers, hoſiers, taylors, and other ſuch kind of merchants; and the third, for poor labouring people; and that for theſe three new corporations, there ſhould always be choſen two lords, and for the fourteen leſſer corporations three: that the ſenate ſhould provide halls for theſe new corporations to meet in: that none, entered under theſe bodies corporate, ſhould be forced to pay any debt under two ducats for theſe two years: that the bank ſhould remit their intereſt, and only the principal be paid: that thoſe, who were confined and condemned, ſhould be pardoned: that all the admoniſhed ſhould be reſtored to their dignities; with many other advantages which they aſked for their favourers or favorites: and on the contrary, many of their enemies to be confined and admoniſhed. Which demands, though they were ſhameful and diſhonourable to the commonwealth, yet, for fear of worſe, were accepted by the ſenate, colleges, and council of the people. But to give them perfection, it was requiſite they ſhould be conſented to by the common council, which, becauſe in one day they could not aſſemble two councils, they agreed to refer to the next; with which the artizans appeared content, and the vulgar ſatisfied, promiſing, if they gave perfection to that law, all tumults ſhould ceaſe.

The next morning, whilſt the common council was debating the matter, the multitude, voluble and impatient, marched under their former colours into the Piazza, with loud ſhouts, and horrible out-cries, affrighting both the council and the lords: upon which Guerriante Marigiculo, moved more out of fear than any other private paſſion, went down under pretence of guarding the lower gate, and fled to his houſe; but he could not paſs out ſo privately, but he was taken notice of by the rabble, and known: yet they did him no injury; only the multitude at ſight of him cried out, with one voice, that the lords ſhould all leave the palace, or elſe they would kill their children, and burn their houſes.

Mean while the law was determined, and the lords were returned into their chamber, and the council gone down; but neither daring to go out of the lodge, nor paſs the court, deſpairing of the ſafety of the city, they made a ſtand; ſuch villany was there in the multitude, and ſo much wretchedneſs or fear in thoſe, who might have either bridled or ſuppreſſed them! The lords were likewiſe in confuſion, doubtful of the preſervation of their country, ſeeing themſelves forſaken by their own guards, and not by any one citizen, either with their aid or council, ſupported.

Whilſt they thus ſtood uncertain, either what they might, or what they ought to do, Thomas Strozzi, and Benedicto Alberti, moved to it by their private ambition, deſirous to be maſters of the palace, or becauſe indeed they believed it the beſt way,

perſuaded them to yield to this popular violence, and return as private men to their houſes. This counſel given by them who had been heads of the tumult, made Alamanno Acciainoli, and Nicolas de Bene, two of the lords, though the reſt yielded, exclaim againſt them; and taking a little heart, told them, that if the reſt would go, they could not help it; but they would not lay down their authority till their time was expired, unleſs with it they laid down their lives. Their diſſenting increaſed the lords fear, and the peoples rage, ſo that the Gonfalonier, chooſing rather to quit his magiſtracy with ſhame, than hold it with danger, recommended it to Thomas Strozzi, who, conducting him out of the palace, conveyed him to his own houſe. The other lords, in like manner, one after another, departed: whereupon Alaman and Nicolas, that they might not be judged more courageous than wiſe, ſeeing themſelves left alone, went away alſo; and the palace remained in the hands of the plebeians, and of the eight commiſſioners of war, who had not yet laid down their office.

There was one Michael de Lando, a comber of wool, who, when the croud entered the palace, had the ſtandard of juſtice in his hand. This fellow, bare-foot, and ſcarce a rag to cover him, leaps up the ſtairs, with all the rabble following him, and getting upon the place where the lords uſed to give audience, he makes a ſtand, and turning to the

multitude; "You ſee," ſays he, "that this palace "is yours, and this city in your hands; what is "now is your opinion how they ſhall be diſpoſed?" To which they all made anſwer, that they would have him to be Gonfalonier, and lord, and that he ſhould govern them, and the city, as he thought fit. He was an underſtanding witty fellow, and more beholding to nature than fortune; and therefore accepting the authority, he determines preſently to quiet the city, and put a ſtop to the tumults; and to keep the people employed, and gain time to put himſelf in order, he commands ſearch to be made for one Nuto, whom ſignior Lappo de Caſtiglionchio had deſigned for Bargello, or head ſerjeant: upon which commiſſion, moſt that were about him ran. And, to begin that government with juſtice, which he had got by favour, he made proclamation, that none ſhould dare to burn or ſteal any thing; and, for a terror, cauſed a gibbet to be erected in the Piazza. To give a beginning alſo to the reformation of the city, he annulled the ſyndics of the trades, and made new ones; deprived the lords and colleges of the magiſtracy, and burnt the purſes of offices. Mean while, Nuto was, by the multitude, brought into the Piazza, and hanged by one foot on the gibbet, and every one ſlaſhing a piece from him, there was, in an inſtant, nothing left but his foot.

The council of eight, during this, believing themſelves, ſince the lords were departed, chief magiſtrates of the city, had already deſigned new lords;

which Michael underſtanding, ſent to tell them, that they ſhould preſently depart the palace; for he would let every one know, that without their counſel, he knew how to govern Florence. He after aſſembled the ſyndics of the trades, and created a ſignory of four for the labouring people, two for the greater, and two for the leſſer trades. Beſides this, he made a new ſquittini, or imborſation, for choice of magiſtrates, and divided the ſtate into three parts; one whereof related to the new arts, the other to the leſſer, and the third to the greater. He gave ſignior Silveſter Medici the rent of the ſhops upon the Old Bridge, and to himſelf the Podeſtaria, or bailywic of Empoli; and to many other citizens, and many of the common people, he gave beneficial gifts; not ſo much to reſtore them part of what they had given him, but that they might be at all times ready to defend him from envy. Yet the people began to think, that Michael, in reforming the ſtate, too much ſided with the wealthy party, and that they had not ſo great a ſhare in the government as was fitting, or rather, neceſſary for them, to maintain and defend themſelves in it: whereupon, ſpurred on by their habitual boldneſs, they again took arms, and in a tumultuous manner gathering to their colours, come into the Piazza, and require the lords to come down to the Ringhiera, or place of audience, to debate of new matters.

Michael, ſeeing their arrogance, not to enrage them more, without otherwiſe hearing what they

would have, blamed their manner of coming to aſk any thing; exhorted them to lay down their arms, and then ſhould eaſily be granted them, what the ſignory could not honourably by force concede. At which the multitude, enraged againſt the palace, went to St. Maria Novella, where they conſtituted among themſelves eight chiefs, with miniſters and other orders, which paid them reverence and reſpect: ſo that there was now two ſects in the city; and it was under two different governments.

The chiefs of the plebeians determined among themſelves, that always eight, choſen from the companies of trades, ſhould dwell with the lords in the palace, and that whatever was debated by the ſignory, ſhould be by them confirmed. They took away from Silveſter Medici, and Michael Lando, all that in their former conceſſions they had beſtowed on them; they aſſigned over to many of their own, offices, and other ſupplies, that they might the better maintain their port and dignity: having concluded theſe things, they ſent them to the lords, requiring they might be confirmed by the councils, with an aſſurance they would have them done by force, if by fair means they could not obtain them. Thoſe who brought them performed their commiſſion to the lords with great boldneſs, and greater preſumption, reproaching the Gonfalonier with the dignity they had conferred on him, and how ungrateful he had been in managing thoſe honours they had beſtowed on him, with ſo little reſpect towards them; and from theſe

injurious words proceeded to threats. Michael could no longer endure ſuch arrogance; but remembering more the degree he then held, than his low and mean condition, reſolved to puniſh, in an extraordinary manner, ſuch extraordinary inſolence; and drawing his ſword he had by his ſide, he firſt grievouſly wounded him that ſpoke, and then cauſed them all to be bound and impriſoned.

Theſe things were no ſooner known, but the multitude were enflamed with anger; and believing they might force that to be done with arms in their hands, which diſarmed they could not obtain, with tumult, rage, and fury, they armed themſelves, and made ready to aſſail the lords. On the other ſide, Michael, foreſeeing what would happen, determined to prevent it, and judging it more for his honour to aſſault others, than ſtay for his enemy within the palace walls, and be forced like his predeceſſors, with diſhonour to the place, and ſhame to himſelf to fly, he gathers together a great number of citizens, who were already come flocking thither, ſenſible now of their former errors; and mounting on horſe-back, followed by many men at arms, goes to St. Maria Novella to fight his enemy. The rabble, who, as we ſaid before, had made the ſame reſolves, at the ſame time that Michael parted from the palace, were advanced towards it, and it happened ſo, that taking ſeveral ways they met not one the other: whereupon Michael turning back, found the Piazza poſſeſſed, and that they were endeavouring to take the palace;

and engaging with them, after a hot ſkirmiſh, he routs them, drives ſome of them out of the city, and forces the reſt to throw down their arms, and run to hide themſelves.

This victory obtained, the tumults were appeaſed by the ſole valour of the Gonfalonier; who, for courage, prudence, and honeſty, exceeded all the citizens of his time, and deſerves to be remembered among thoſe few that were ſerviceable and beneficial to their country: for had he had either a diſhoneſt or ambitious mind, the commonwealth had utterly loſt its liberty, and fallen under a much worſe tyranny, than that of the duke of Athens. But his goodneſs would not permit a thought in his breaſt contradictory to the public good; and by his prudence he governed things ſo, that moſt of his party had confidence in him, and the reſt he, by force, could quell: which put the plebeians in fear, and made the better ſort of tradeſmen bethink themſelves, and conſider how great their ignorance had been, that they, who had tamed the pride of the nobles, were become ſupporters of the ſcum of the people.

When Michael gained this victory over the rabble, the new lords were already drawn; whereof two were of ſuch vile and abject quality, that it begot a deſire in all men to free themſelves from this infamy. And on the firſt of September, when the new lords were to enter upon the magiſtracy, the place being full of armed men, as ſoon as the old lords were come out of the palace, a cry was raiſed

among the armed men, in a tumultuous manner, that they would not have any of the plebeian lords. Whereupon the ſignory, to ſatisfy them, deprived thoſe two of the magiſtracy; of which one was called Tira, and the other Baroccio, in whoſe places, ſignior George Schali, and Francis Michael, were choſen: they annulled likewiſe the corporation of the meanner ſort of the people, and from thoſe under them, except Michael di Lando, and Louis Pucchio, and ſome others of better quality, took all manner of offices. The honours they divided into two parts; whereof one to the greater, and the other to the leſſer trades, was conſigned: only of the lords, they would always have five of the meaner artificers, and four of the greater trades; and the Gonfalonier, ſometimes of one and ſometimes of another.

The government, thus ſettled, put the city in a preſent poſture of quiet. And though the government was taken out of the hands of the rabble, yet did the mechanics, of meaner quality, remain ſuperior in power to the citizens of higher degree; to which, theſe were conſtrained to ſubmit, to take away from the looſe multitude, the favour of the handicrafts, by ſo contenting them; which was likewiſe favoured by thoſe who deſired, that they ſhould be afflicted, who, under the name of the Guelf faction, had ſo much tormented the city. And, becauſe among the favourers of this ſort of government, ſignior George Scali, Benedicto Alberti, Silveſter Me-

dici, and Thomas Strozzi, were the chief; they ſeemed, in a manner, as princes of the city.

Theſe things thus managed and governed, the diviſion between the prime citizens and merchants of meaner trades, begun by the ambition of the Ricci and Albizi, was confirmed, which produced, in ſeveral times afterwards, ſad effects; of which, becauſe we ſhall have occaſion hereafter often to make mention, we ſhall call one the popular faction, and the other the plebeian, as, for the moſt part, hitherto, we have obſerved to do. This government laſted three years, and was much perplexed with deaths and baniſhment; for thoſe that governed, becauſe of the many male-contents without, lived in very great jealouſy. The male-contents within were ſtill attempting ſome novelty. Thoſe without, having nothing to reſtrain them, ſometimes by means of that prince, and ſometimes of this commonwealth, diſperſed and ſowed ſedition, ſometimes in one party, and ſometimes in another.

There was at this time in Bologna, Gianazzo of Salerno, commander of the forces under Charles of Durazzo of the blood royal of Naples; who, deſigning an expedition againſt queen Joan, this his general, was, by the favour of pope Urban, an enemy to the queen, admitted into that city. There were then at Bologna many that had fled out of Florence, who kept a ſtrict correſpondence both with him and Charles. Upon which account, thoſe who governed Florence lived in great jealouſy, and with eaſe believed any calumnies, raiſed of the ci-

tizens they ſuſpected. Whilſt the minds of men were in this fear and ſuſpenſion, was diſcovered to the magiſtracy, how Gianazzo de Salerno was deſigned to preſent himſelf before Florence, with thoſe that were fled out, and that many within were to take arms in their behalf, and ſurrender to them the city. Upon this accuſation, many were accuſed: for the principal of which were ſuſpected Peter Albizi, and Charles Strozzi; and next them Capriani Maugion, ſignior Jacopo Sacchetti, Donato Barbardori, Philip Strozzi, and John Anſelmio: all which, except Charles Strozzi that fled, were taken; and the lords, to the end none ſhould take arms in their favour, deputed ſignior Thomas Strozzi, and Benedicto Alberti, with a ſufficient number of ſoldiers, to have the guard of the city.

The citizens thus taken, though upon any teſtimony or circumſtances, they could not be found guilty, inſomuch that the captain would by no means condemn them; yet their enemies in ſuch manner ſtirred up the people, and moved them to ſo much rage and madneſs againſt them, that they forced ſentence of death to be paſſed upon them. Nor did the greatneſs of his family any thing avail Peter Albizi; nor that antient reputation of his, which had once made him feared and honoured, above any other citizen in Florence; and had once perſuaded a certain citizen, whoſe gueſt he was, at a great invitation, either, as his friend, to oblige him to a more kind, humble deportment, in ſuch a

height of greatneſs, or, as his enemy, to threaten him with the volubility of fortune, to ſend him a great iron ſpike; which, being diſcovered, and ſeen by the reſt of the gueſts, was interpreted as an admonition to him, to ſtop and fix the wheel; for fortune having brought him to the very top of it, it was impoſſible, if it continued its circle and career, but he muſt fall to the very bottom: which interpretation, firſt by his ruin, and afterwards by his death, was fully verified.

After this execution, the city remained full of confuſion; for both the conquerors and conquered ſtood in ſuſpence: but, the moſt malignant effects were produced from the fears of thoſe that governed; for every ſlight accident made them afflict with new injuries the ſuſpected party, either condemning, or admoniſhing, or ſending their citizens into baniſhment; to which may be added, the making new laws for ſupport and ſtrengthening of their government: all which things were proſecuted with injuſtice and injury to thoſe that their faction had any jealouſy of: to which end, they created a council of forty-ſix, who, together with the lords, were to purge the ſtate of ſuſpected perſons. Theſe admoniſhed thirty-nine citizens, and many people they made noble, and many nobles they degraded.

And, to enable them to withſtand any foreign power, they took into their pay Sir John Hawkwood, an Engliſhman, of great reputation in arms, and, who had formerly made war in Italy, under the pope, and other princes. The reaſons of their

fears from abroad aroſe from the intelligence they had, that ſeveral companies of men at arms, drawn together by Charles of Durazzo, in order to his expedition againſt Naples, were in a readineſs, and that great numbers of baniſhed Florentines were joined with them.

To oppoſe which dangers, beſides the forces they had levied, they provided themſelves with money: and Charles, at his coming to Azezzo, received from the Florentines forty thouſand ducats, upon promiſe not to moleſt them. After which, he purſued his expedition, and happily poſſeſſed himſelf of the kingdom of Naples, ſending queen Joan priſoner into Hungary. Which ſucceſs of his bred new jealouſies in thoſe who managed the ſtate of Florence; for they could not believe their money could have ſuch power over the king, as to ſtiffle that antient friendſhip his family had always born to the Guelf party, whom they had with ſo many injuries oppreſſed. And this jealouſy increaſing, injuries increaſed with it, which did not extinguiſh but enflame it, ſo that moſt part of the city lived under great anxiety and terror: to which, the inſolencies of George Scali and Thomas Strozzi contributed; who, with their authority, over-awed the magiſtracy, every one ſtanding in fear, leſt, by the plebeians favour, they might be by them oppreſſed; for their government, not only to good men, but even to the ſeditious, appeared violent and tyrannical.

But that the insolency of George might one day come to an end, it happened that John de Cambio accused a fellow-citizen, of having held intelligence against the state; but the party being found innocent by the captain, the judge would have inflicted the same punishment upon the accuser, which the accused had been liable to, and had been found guilty; and when signior George could neither by his power nor prayers prevail for his pardon, he, with signior Thomas Strozzi, went with a great multitude of armed men, and by force delivered him, sacking the palace of the captain, and constraining him, to save his life, to flee and hide himself. Which action begot such a hatred in the whole city against him, that his enemies thought they might easily crush him, and not only deliver the city out of his hands, but out of the hands of the plebeians, who, for three years past, had subjected it to their arrogance. To which the captain gave a fair opportunity, who going to the lords, as soon as the tumult was over, told them: "That "he would willingly undertake that office, to which "their lordship had elected him, because he thought "he was to serve just men, who would take up "arms in defence, and not in opposition of justice: "but now, having had experience of the govern- "ment of the city, and its manner of living; that "dignity he had readily embraced, out of hopes to "gain honour, safety, and advantage, he as rea- "dily laid down, to avoid shame, danger, and "damage."

The captain was encouraged by the lords to continue in his charge, who flattered him with promiſes of recompence for paſt loſſes, and ſecurity for the future; and withdrawing a part of them, they privately conſulted with ſome other citizens, whom they knew lovers of their country, and who lay not under the leaſt ſuſpicions of ſtate; with whom they unanimouſly agreed, that a good opportunity was offered to free the city out of the hands of ſignior George, and the plebeians; the generality being by this laſt inſolence utterly alienated from him. Wherefore they thought it beſt to make uſe of it, before the angry minds of the people were ſettled; for they knew the favour of the multitude was won and loſt by every little accident: judging it withal neceſſary, for the management of the affair, to draw ſignior Benedicto Alberti to their party, without whoſe conſent they thought the enterprize too hazardous.

Signior Benedicto was very rich, juſt, kind, and a lover of the liberty of his country, and an enemy of all tyrannical practices: ſo that it was no difficult matter to gain him to condeſcend to the ruin of ſignior George, becauſe the reaſons which had made him an enemy to the prime of the people, and to the faction of the Guelfs, were only their inſolencies and tyrannical demeanour. And now, finding the chiefs of the plebeians were grown like them, he had for ſometime diſcontinued acting with them, and the injuries which had been done to many citizens were utterly without his conſent and advice.

Signior Benedicto, and the maſters of the trades, thus drawn to their party, they provided themſelves with arms, and ſignior George was taken, but ſignior Thomas fled: and the next day George was beheaded, with ſo much terror to his party, that not a man durſt ſtir to reſcue him; on the contrary, every one run to gaze at his fall: whereupon, he ſeeing himſelf brought to die before that people, who but a while before adored him, he complained of his ill fortune, and accuſed the frowardneſs of the citizens, which had forced him to comply with, and honour a multitude, who never were capable of gratitude. And ſeeing ſignior Benedicto Alberti among the armed men, he ſaid to him: "And can you, ſignior Benedicto, conſent that "this injury be done to me, which I would never "have permitted to be done to you? But I pro-"nounce the end of my miſery to be the beginning "of yours." And with theſe repinings he died, in the midſt of his armed enemies, who rejoiced at his fall. Some of his neareſt friends were ſoon after put to death, and ſome torn in pieces by the people.

The fall of this citizen diſquieted the whole city; for many at his execution had taken up arms in favour of the ſignory and captain of the people; and many others out of ambition, or private jealouſy. And, becauſe the city was full of differing factions, they all had different ends, and each deſired before they laid down their arms, to accompliſh them.

The antient nobility, called grandees, and ſo we

ſhall hereafter call them in diſtinction from the new nobles of the people, could not ſupport or endure their being deprived of all honours; and therefore, by all poſſible ways, applied themſelves to the recovery of them. They therefore armed themſelves, to reſtore the authority to the captains of the wards or diviſions. The nobles of the people, and the prime trades were diſſatisfied to ſhare the government with the meaner tradeſmen, and rabble of plebeians. On the other ſide, the inferior trades ſought rather to add to, than ſuffer their power to diminiſh, and the rabble feared to loſe their new corporations: from which differences there aroſe many tumults in Florence in a year's ſpace; ſometimes the grandees took arms, ſometimes the popular nobles, ſometimes the inferior trades, and with them the looſe multitude; and many times, in divers parts of the town, all of them were in arms at once. Whereupon happened ſeveral ſkirmiſhes between them and the guards of the palace; for the ſenate ſometimes yielding, and ſometimes fighting, ſtrove all the ways they could to remedy ſo many inconveniencies: inſomuch, that after two parliaments, and more * Balias created to reform the city; after many loſſes, labours, and grievous dangers, they eſtabliſhed a government, by which, all thoſe which had been confined, ſince Silveſter Medici was Gonfalonier, were reſtored: they took away all privi-

* A ſelect magiſtracy with full authority.

leges and pre-eminences which had been granted by the Balia in thirteen hundred and ſeventy-ſeven; reſtored the Guelf faction to all dignities, and honours; took away from the new trades their corporations, and government; diſtributing them among the companies they were formerly placed under: they removed from the inferior trades the choice of the Gonfalonier of juſtice, and from one half reduced them to a third ſhare of dignities, and thoſe of the higheſt quality they made them altogether incapable of. Whereby the faction of the popular nobles of the Guelfs reaſſumed the authority; and the plebeians, who had been the chief managers of the ſtate, from the year thirteen hundred and ſeventy-eighth, to the year thirteen hundred and eighty-one, when this novelty happened, loſt it.

Nor was this government leſs impious to the citizens, nor leſs hurtful in its foundations than that of the plebeians had been. For many popular nobles who had ſtirred in the defence of that, and many of the heads of the plebeians, were confined; among whom was Michael di Lando, and all the benefit his authority had been author of, when the unbridled multitude licentiouſly ruined the city, could not preſerve him from the rage of this faction, ſo ungrateful was his country to him for all his good offices! Into which error, becauſe princes and commonwealths many times fall, it occaſions that men, terrified with ſuch kind of examples, no ſooner begin to grow ſenſible of their princes ingratitude, but they ſtudy how to offend them.

Theſe baniſhments and executions, as they always diſpleaſed, ſo now they afflicted, the ſpirit of ſignior Benedicto Alberti, who, publicly and privately, always condemned them: whereupon the prime men, concerned in the government, feared him; for they eſteemed him one of the principal friends of the plebeians, and believed he had conſented to the death of ſignior George Scali, not out of any diſlike to his manners, but that he might remain without competitor in the government. Both his words and works added afterwards fuel to this jealouſy; ſo that all the faction in power turned their eyes towards him, to watch an opportunity of oppreſſing him.

Whilſt they ſtood upon theſe terms within, affairs abroad were not very difficult; in that which followed the people were more ſcared than hurt; for about this time Louis of Anjou came into Italy to reſtore the kingdom of Naples to queen Joan, and drive out Charles of Durazzo: his paſſing by put the Florentines in great fear, for Charles, as is uſual among old friends, deſired their aſſiſtance; and Louis expected, as is cuſtomary with thoſe who deſire new alliances, they would ſtand neuter. Whereupon the Florentines, to make a ſhew of ſatisfying Louis, and helping Charles, diſmiſſed Sir John Hawkwood from their ſervice, and ſent him to pope Urban, who was Charles's friend: which cheat was eaſily diſcovered by Louis, who highly reſented this injury of the Florentines.

Whilſt the war between Louis and Charles was maintained in Apulia, there came freſh ſuccours to Louis out of France, who arriving in Tuſcany, were by the baniſhed Aretines brought into Arezzo; which ſided with thoſe who governed for Charles. But as they were deſigning to change the government of Florence, as they had done that of Arrezo, happened the death of Louis; and affairs in Apulia and Tuſcany changed countenance; for Charles ſecured himſelf of the kingdom he had almoſt loſt, and the Florentines, who were almoſt doubtful of being able to defend Florence, got Arezzo, buying it of thoſe people which held it for Louis.

Charles, having thus ſettled Apulia, goes for Hungary, fallen to him hy hereditary ſucceſſion, leaving his wife in Apulia, with Ladiſlaus and Joan, his children; of whom, more in due ſeaſon. Charles gained Hungary, but was ſoon after ſlain. There were ſolemn feaſts kept in Florence for this ſucceſs, ſo that never city rejoiced more at their own victories: here as well the private as public magnificence appeared; for many families in their feaſting ſtrove to vye with the public. But they, which in pomp and magnificence exceeded all others, were the family of the Alberti; for the feaſts and tournaments made by them ſeemed rather becoming a mighty prince, than a private family; which joining envy to the jealouſy the ſtate before had of ſignior Benedicto, was the cauſe of his ruin: for thoſe who were in power could not be ſatisfied with him, ima-

gining every minute ſome opportunity might happen, to make him, with the favour of the factions, regain his reputation, and drive them out of the city.

Whilſt they were in theſe doubts, it happened, that he being Gonfalonier of the companies, there was drawn for Gonfalonier of juſtice, ſignior Philip Magolotti, his ſon-in-law, which redoubled the fear of the heads of the ſtate, judging it added too much power to ſignior Benedicto, and expoſed the ſtate to too much danger. And deſirous to remedy it without tumult, they encouraged Beſe Magolotti, his conſort and enemy, to ſignify to the lords, that ſignior Philip not being yet arrived at the age required, to exerciſe that degree, could not obtain it. The matter was examined before the lords, and part out of hatred, and the reſt not to give offence, voted ſignior Philip incapable of that dignity; and in his ſtead was choſen Bardo Mancini, a man quite averſe to the plebeian faction, and an utter enemy to ſignior Benedicto: inſomuch, that as ſoon as he was ſettled in his magiſtracy, he called a Balia, who, in ſuperviſing and reforming the ſtate, baniſhed ſignior Benedicto Alberti, and admoniſhed all the reſt of the family, except ſignior Antony.

Signior Benedicto, before his departure, called together all his conſorts and friends, and ſeeing them ſad and full of tears told them: 'You ſee, my good 'lords and fathers! how fortune has oppreſſed me, 'and threatens you; neither am I ſtartled at it,

'nor ought you to wonder; for it ever happens 'thus to men, who, among a great many wicked, 'ſtrive to be good, or would ſupport what many 'ſeek to deſtroy. Love of my country made me 'join with Silveſter Medici, and fall off from 'George Scali; and the very ſame thing made me 'hate the cuſtoms of thoſe that now rule, who, 'being above chaſtiſement, have ſcorned reproof. 'And I am content with my baniſhment, to free 'them from the fear they had not of me only, but 'of all that they know are ſenſible of their wicked 'and tyrannical government. I am not moleſted 'nor vexed at it; for theſe honours which my 'country, when free, gave me, the ſervant cannot 'take away: and I ſhall always find more delight 'in the memory of my paſt life, than the infelicity 'of my exile can bring diſpleaſure. It grieves me 'indeed, that my country ſhould become a prey to 'a few, and be forced to ſubmit to their tyranny 'and avarice: and I am grieved for you, becauſe 'I fear that theſe evils, which this day end in me, 'will begin in you, and that they will perſecute 'you with greater tyranny than they have me. 'Reſolve with yourſelves, therefore, to bear a mind 'ſtedfaſt againſt all misfortunes, and carry your- 'ſelves ſo, that if any adverſity befal you, as moſt 'certainly will, the world may know you innocent, 'and that, by any fault of yours, you have not de- 'ſerved it.'

After this leave taken, to gain as much reputation of goodneſs abroad as he had done at home, he

went to viſit the holy ſepulchre, and in his return thence died at Rhodes.

During theſe diſtempers, the family of the Alberti was not alone affronted and injured, but many other citizens were admoniſhed and baniſhed; among whom were Peter Benini, Matthew Alderotti, John and Francis de Bene, John Benci, Andrew Adimari, and with theſe a great number of mechanics. Thoſe that were admoniſhed were the Cononi, Benini, Rimicoi, Formiconi, Corbizi, Manelli, and Alderotti. It was cuſtomary to create the Balia for an affixed time; but thoſe citizens having done what they were deputed for, thought it decent, though the time were not expired, to reſign. Theſe men therefore, having, as they thought, ſatisfied the ſtate, would, according to cuſtom, have reſigned: which the multitude underſtanding, ran armed to the palace, deſiring, that before they reſigned, many others might be baniſhed and admoniſhed; which highly diſpleaſed the lords, who entertained them with fair promiſes till they had gathered ſtrength ſufficient, and then made them, for fear, lay down thoſe arms, which fury had made them take up. Yet, to ſatisfy a little this raging humour, and to moderate the power of the plebeians, they enacted, that whereas they had a third part of the honours, they ſhould only have a fourth: and that there might always be in the ſignory two men ſtedfaſt to the ſtate, they gave authority to the Gonfalonier of juſtice, and to four

other citizens to make purſes of choſen pickt men, whereof two to be drawn for every ſignory.

The government thus ſettled, ſix years after it was firſt ordained, which was in the year thirteen hundred and eighty-one, the city lived in great quietneſs within itſelf, till the year thirteen hundred and ninety-three; during which time, John Galeazo Viſconti, called the count of Virtue, having ſlain ſignior Barnaby his uncle, and by that means became prince of all Lombardy, thought he might, by force, become king of all Italy, as he had, by treachery, made himſelf duke of Milan.

He therefore, in the year thirteen hundred and ninety, waged a briſk war with the Florentines, which in the management was ſo variable, that oftentimes was the duke himſelf in danger, and oftentimes upon the point of deſtroying the Florentines, who had certainly, had he lived, been loſt; thought they made a ſtout defence, and to be admired at for a commonwealth. But the end proved as advantageous as the war had been dreadful: for when the duke had taken Bologna, Piſa, Perugia, and Siæna, and had made ready a crown to crown himſelf king of Italy, in Florence, he died; death not ſuffering him to enjoy his paſt victories; nor the Florentines to feel their preſent loſſes.

Whilſt this war was on foot with the duke, ſignior Maſo Albizi, whom the death of Peter had made an enemy to the houſe of Alberti, was drawn for Gonfalonier of juſtice: and the humours of the factions being ſtill kept awake, Maſo, though

Benedicto was dead in exile, determined, before he laid down the magiſtracy, to revenge himſelf on the reſt of that family; and took the opportunity from one, who being examined about intelligence held with the enemy, named Albert and Andrew Alberti. Theſe were preſently taken, at which all the city grew angry; upon which the ſenate arming, called a parliament of the people, and conſtituted a Balia, whereby many citizens were baniſhed, and new imborſation for choice of officers made.

Amongſt the baniſhed were almoſt all the Alberti: there were likewiſe many of the mechanics admoniſhed, and put to death; whereupon, incenſed by ſo many injuries, the multitude took arms, that they might no longer behold their honours and lives thus taken away. Part of them came into the Piazza, and another part flocked to the houſe of ſignior Veri de Medici, who, after the death of Silveſter, remained head of that family. To thoſe which came into the Piazza, the lords, to lull them aſleep, gave them for their heads (with the enſigns of the Guelfs and the people in their hands) ſignior Rinaldo Gianfigliazzo, and ſignior Donato Acciaivali, men, above any other of the popular party, grateful to the plebeians. Thoſe who went to the houſe of Veri de Medici, begged he would be pleaſed to accept the government, and free them from the tyranny of thoſe citizens, who were deſtroyers of all good men, and perverters of the commonweal.

All that have made any record of theſe times agree, that had ſignior Veri been as ambitious as he was good, he might in this conjuncture, without any hinderance, have made himſelf prince of the city: for the heavy loads, that were, right or wrong, laid upon the inferior mechanics, and their friends, had ſo enflamed their ſouls to revenge, that they wanted nothing to ſatisfy their deſires, but a head to lead them: nor wanted there ſome to put ſignior Veri in mind what he might do; for Antonio de Medici, who had long before had ſome particular animoſities againſt him, adviſed him to accept of the dominion of the city; to which ſignior Veri made anſwer, 'As thy threatenings, when my enemy, made me not afraid; neither ſhall thy counſels, as my friend, abuſe me.' And turning towards the multitude, he exhorted them to be of good heart, for he would be their defender, if they would be adviſed by him: and going in the midſt of them into the Piazza, and from thence, up the palace to the lords, he ſpoke to them in this manner: 'That he had no reaſon to be troubled, that 'he had lived in ſuch a manner that the people of 'Florence loved him; but it grieved him, that they 'had an opinion of him which his paſt life had not 'deſerved: for, having never made appear any 'ſymptoms of being factious or ambitious, he 'knew not from whence it proceeded, that they 'ſhould imagine him a fomenter of ſedition, like 'an unquiet man, or an uſurper of government, 'as one ambitious.' He therefore prayed their

lordſhips, 'that the ignorance of the multitude 'ſhould not be imputed as a crime to him, for he 'had, as far as poſſible he could, brought them 'under their power:' remembering them withal, 'that they ſhould uſe their fortune moderately, 'and rather chooſe a ſmall victory with the ſafety 'of the city, than an intire one with its ruin.'

Signior Veri was prayed by the lords, and exhorted to make them lay down their arms, and that afterwards they would not fail to do what he and other citizens ſhould adviſe them: upon which, returning to the Piazza, and his brigade being joined with thoſe led by ſignior Rinaldo and Donato, he told them all: 'That he found in the lords an ex-'cellent diſpoſition to do them good; that many 'things had been ſpoken of to that purpoſe, but 'by reaſon of the ſhortneſs of the time, and the 'abſence of the magiſtrates, could not yet be con-'cluded. In the mean time he prayed them to lay 'down their arms, and obey the lords: giving 'them his word, that gentleneſs rather than pride, 'and prayers rather than threats would move them; 'and that they ſhould not want either honour or 'ſafety if they would be ruled by him.' Inſomuch, that upon his word they all returned to their houſes.

Arms thus by them laid down, the ſignory firſt armed the Piazza, and then liſted two thouſand citizens faithful to the ſtate, and divided them equally under banners; giving command, that they ſhould be in a readineſs, whenever they were called to their aſſiſtance, and forbidding all that were

not liſted to arm themſelves. Theſe preparations made, they confined, baniſhed, and put to death many of the mechanics of thoſe who had ſhewed themſelves forwardeſt in the laſt tumult. And becauſe the Gonfalonier of juſtice ſhould have more majeſty and reputation, they ordered, that none under the age of forty-five years of age ſhould exerciſe that office. To fortify the ſtate, they likewiſe made other proviſions, inſupportable to thoſe againſt whom they were enacted, and by all honeſt citizens, even of their own party, abhorred; for they judged no ſtate ſafe or ſecure, that was to be defended with ſo much violence. And, not only thoſe of the Alberti, who remained in the city, but the Medici, who looked upon themſelves as deceivers of the people; and many others, were extremely afflicted at it.

The firſt that ſought to oppoſe it was ſignior Donato di Jacopo Acciaivoli. This gentleman, tho' he was very great in the city, and rather ſuperior than companion to ſignior Maſo Albizi, who, for the things done in the time of his being Gonfalonier, was looked upon, as it were, head of the republic, could not live well ſatisfied among ſo many malecontents, nor make, as many do, a private benefit of the public damage: he therefore determined to make trial if he could reſtore the exiles to their country, or at leaſt, the admoniſhed to their degrees. And he went about whiſpering in the ears of ſeveral citizens, this his opinion; demonſtrating how there was no other way to quiet the people,

and purge the humours of the factions; nor ſtayed he for any thing, but to be drawn for one of the lords to put this his deliberation in practice: and, becauſe in all our actions delay ſeems tedious, and haſte is dangerous, he grew inclinable to avoid tediouſneſs to hazard the danger.

There were of the lords, Michael Acciavoli his conſort, and Nicolas Ricoveri his friend: whereupon ſignior Donato thought, that having ſuch an opportunity he ought not to loſe it, but deſired them to propoſe a law to the councils containing the reſtitution of the citizens. They, perſuaded by him, ſpoke to their companions, by whom they were anſwered, that they were not to propoſe new things wherein the ſucceſs was dubious, and the danger certain. Upon which ſignior Donato, having firſt in vain tried all other ways, told them in anger, that ſince they would not accept the offer made, to reform the city quietly, it ſhould be done by arms. Theſe words ſo much diſpleaſed them, that communicating them to the heads of the government, ſignior Donato was cited, and appearing, was by thoſe, by whom he had delivered the embaſſy, convicted, and thereupon confined to Barretta. Alaman, and Antony Medici, with all of that family deſcended from ſignior Alaman, were likewiſe baniſhed, together with many ignoble mechanics, but of credit among the people: which things happened two years after the government had been controuled by ſignior Maſo.

The city being in this poſture, with many male-

contents within, and many baniſhed men abroad, there happened to be among the exiles at Bologna, Picchio Cavicciulli, Thomas de Rici, Antonio de Medici, Benedicto Spini, Antony Girolami, Chriſtopher Carlone, with two other of mean condition, all young men, courageous, and ready to attempt any thing to return into their own country. To them ſecret intelligence was given by Pigiello and Baronio Cavicciulli, who lived admoniſhed in Florence, that if they would come into the city, they would privily receive them into their houſes, from whence, making a ſally, they might kill Maſo de Albizi, and call the people to arms; who being diſcontented, would be ready to take the alarm, eſpecially, ſince they knew they ſhould be ſeconded by the Ricci, Adnicari, Medici, Mannelli, and many other families. Encouraged with this hope, on the fourth of Auguſt, thirteen hundred and ninety-ſeven, they came into Florence, and being privily entered, as they were appointed, they ſent about to obſerve ſignior Maſo, reſolving with his death to begin the tumult. Signior Maſo comes out of his houſe, and ſtops at an apothecary's, near great St. Peter's. Corſo, who had the charge of watching him, informes the conſpirators, who, preſently taking arms, came to the place, but he was gone. However, not daunted for having failed in this firſt deſign, they turned towards the old market, and killed one of the adverſe party, and thereupon giving the alarm, cried out to the people, 'To arms, liberty, liberty; and let the 'tyrants die.' Thence turning towards the new

market, at the end of the ſtreet Calimaza, they ſlew another; and following, with the ſame cries, their way, and none taking arms, they retreated to the hall Nighittoſa; where getting on a high place, and having a great multitude about them, who came rather to ſee than aſſiſt them, they cried out to the people, with loud voices, to arm, and free themſelves from that ſervitude which was ſo hateful to them; affirming, 'that the oppreſſion and grief of 'the male-contents of the city, rather than any 'particular injury done to themſelves, had moved 'them to attempt their delivery. And that having 'heard, that many of them prayed to God to give 'them an opportunity of revenging themſelves, 'which they would be ready to do whenever they 'had a head to lead them, they much wondered, 'that having now heads to lead and defend them, 'they ſtood like men amazed, waiting till thoſe 'that came to give them freedom were put to death, 'and their ſlavery redoubled: that it was ſtrange, 'that they, who, upon the ſmalleſt injury, were 'wont to fly to their arms, could now ſuffer ſo 'many of their citizens to be baniſhed, and ſo many admoniſhed, and not at all be moved, when 'it was in their power and arbitriment, to reſtore 'the exiles to their country, and the admoniſhed 'to their dignities.'

All which words, though true, did not one jot move the multitude; either becauſe they were fearful, or becauſe the death of thoſe two had made the murderers odious; ſo that the contrivers of this

tumult, ſeeing neither their words, nor deeds would move any one of the multitude, too late perceiving how dangerous it is to ſtir up a people to liberty, deſpairing of any ſucceſs in their enterprize they retreated into the church of St. Reparata, where they ſhut themſelves up, not to ſave their lives, but delay their deaths. The lords, troubled at the firſt rumour, had armed, and locked up the palace; but when they heard the buſineſs, and underſtood who they were that moved this diſturbance, and where they were ſhut up, they were again well aſſured, and ſent the captains with many armed men to take them: ſo, that without much trouble the church doors were broke open, and part of them, defending themſelves, ſlain, and part taken; who being examined, there was none other found guilty, but Barrovio and Pigiello Cavicciulli, who together with them were put to death. After this accident, fell out one of greater importance.

The city had in theſe times, as we ſaid before, wars with the duke of Milan, who, perceiving open force did not ſuffice to oppreſs it, had recourſe to policy, and by the means of ſome baniſhed Florentines, of which all Lombardy was full, contrived a plot, to which many within were privy; in which it was agreed, that on a certain day, from the places moſt adjacent to Florence, a great number of the Banditi, ſkilled in arms, ſhould by the river Arno enter into the city, and running firſt, accompanied with their friends within, to the houſes of the chief miniſters of ſtate, kill them, and reform the ſtate

as they pleaſed. Among the conſpirators within was one of the Ricci, called Saminiato; and, as it generally happens in conſpiracies, that a few will not do, and a great many diſcover it, whilſt Saminiato ſtrove to pick up companions, he ſoon met with his fate. He revealed the matter to Silveſter Cavicciulli, whom he thought the injuries of his friends would have made faithful; but preſent fear wrought more upon him than future hopes, ſo that he went and diſcovered the whole plot to the lords: who cauſing Saminiato to be taken, forced him by torments to declare the whole particulars of the deſign; but of the conſpirators not one was taken but Thomas Daviſi, who coming from Bologna, not knowing what had happened in Florence, was, as ſoon as he arrived, laid hold on; all the reſt, upon the apprehending of Saminiato, affrighted, fled. Saminiato and Thomas were puniſhed according to their deſerts. The Balia of ſeveral citizens was conſtituted with authority, to make inquiſition after delinquents, and ſecure the ſtate: they made rebels ſix of the family of Ricci, ſix of the Alberti, two of the Medici, three of the Scali, two of the Strozzi, Bindi Altoviti, Bernard Admiari, and many tradeſmen. They admoniſhed likewiſe all the families of the Alberti, Ricci, and Medici, for ten years, excepting ſome few of them: among thoſe of the Alberti, ſignior Antonio was not admoniſhed, being looked upon as a peaceable man.

It happened that the fear and jealouſy of this plot

not being yet quite blown over, there was a monk taken, who had been obſerved, while the conſpirators were contriving their buſineſſes, to go often to and again from Bologna to Florence: he confeſſed that he had brought ſeveral letters to ſignior Antonio; whereupon he was preſently taken; and tho' from firſt to laſt he denied it, he was convicted by the monk, fined in a ſum of money, and baniſhed to three hundred miles diſtance from the city. And, becauſe the Alberti daily put the ſtate to trouble, they baniſhed all of that family above fifteen years of age.

This accident happened in the year fourteen hundred; and two years afterwards died John Galeazzo duke of Milan, whoſe death, as we ſaid before, put an end to that war which had laſted twelve years. In which time, the government having got more authority, being now without enemies abroad or at home, made that glorious attempt upon Piſa, which they bravely won, and remained quiet within themſelves till the year fourteen hundred and thirty-three: only, in the year fourteen hundred and twelve, the Alberti, having broke their confinements, a new Balia was ſet up againſt them, who, with new laws and proviſions, ſtrengthened the ſtate, and perſecuted the Alberti with the ſword.

About that time likewiſe, begun a war with Ladiſlaus, king of Naples, which, in the year fourteen hundred and ſixteen, ended with the life of that king. The king, having at firſt in that war the worſt of it, yielded to the Florentines the city of

Cortona, of which he was lord; but a little after recruiting his forces, he renewed the war, which proved more dangerous than the firſt; and had it not ended with his death, as did that with the duke of Milan, the king had brought Florence in no leſs danger of loſing her liberty, than did the duke. Nor did this war with the king end with leſs good fortune than the other; for, when he had took Rome, Siena, all la Marca, and Romania, and wanted nothing but Florence to open a way for his forces to march into Lombardy, his death was to the Florentines a better friend than any other they had, and more fortunate in ſaving them than all their valour.

After the death of this king, the city was quiet within and without, for eight years. At the end of which time, together with a war againſt Philip, duke of Milan, the factions ſprung up anew, and were never appeaſed till the ruin of that ſtate, which, from the year thirteen hundred and ſixty-one, to the year fourteen hundred and thirty-four, had reigned, and with ſo much glory waged ſo many important wars, adding to their dominions, Arezzo, Piſa, Cortona, Livorne, and Montepulciano. And greater things had they done, if the citizens had kept themſelves united, and had not again ſtirred up the antient humours, as in the next book ſhall be more particularly related.

BOOK IV.

CITIES, and eſpecially thoſe which are well ordered, and whoſe adminiſtration is after the manner of a republic, often alter their ſtate and government, not by diſtinction of liberty and ſervitude, as many think, but of ſervitude and licentiouſneſs. For liberty is only a name, reverenced indeed by all, but licentiouſneſs is the thing eſteemed by the chief of the people, and their ſervitude ſought for by the nobles; they all being infected with an ambition, which would not willingly be ſubjected either to the laws of God or man. True it is, that when there happens, which is very rare, by the good fortune of a city, that a good, wiſe, and powerful citizen attains to the command, who will ordain ſuch laws, as may either quiet, or, at leaſt, reſtrain from doing miſchief, theſe humours in nobles and people; then ſuch a city may be truly called free, and that government firm and laſting: for being founded on good laws, and ſound ordinances, there is not ſo much neceſſity afterwards of any man's particular virtue to maintain them. With ſuch laws and ordinances have many ancient commonwealths, whoſe governments were long-lived, been endowed. And ſuch laws and orders have

ever been, and ſtill are, wanting in thoſe who are ever and anon varying their ſtates from licentious to tyrannical. For in ſuch, by reaſon of the powerful friends on one ſide, and the other, there can be no ſtedfaſtneſs; one being unpleaſant to good men, and the other to the wiſe; one may eaſily do ill, and the other can very hardly do well; in the one, inſolent men have too much authority, and in the other, fools: and it is not only requiſite, but neceſſary, that both the one and other be maintained by the virtue or fortune of one man; by whoſe death it may either dwindle to nothing, or by his continual adverſity prove unprofitable.

I ſay, therefore, that the government, which in the year thirteen hundred and eighty-one, had beginning, in Florence, from the death of ſignior George Scali, proceeded firſt from the valour of ſignior Maſo de gli Albizi, and afterwards by that of Nicolas Uzano was maintained. The city lived from the year fourteen hundred and fourteen, to the year fourteen hundred and twenty two, very quietly; for king Ladiſlaus dead, and the ſtate of Lombardy divided into ſeveral parts, there was nothing, either within or without, of which they ſtood in fear. Next to Nicolas de Uzano, the chief citizens of authority were, Bartholomew Valore, Nero Nigi, ſignior Rinaldo Albizi, Neri di Gino, and Lapo Nicolini. The factions raiſed by the diſorders between the Albizi, and the Ricci, were afterwards, with ſo much ſcandal, revived by ſignior Silveſter de Medici, that nothing could ſuppreſs or

quiet them: and though that which was univerſally favoured, ruled only three years, and in the year thirteen hundred and eighty-one was vanquiſhed; yet, the greater part of the city being infected with that humour that it could never quite be extinguiſhed. It is true, that the frequent parliaments, and the continual perſecutions of the heads of it, from the year thirteen hnndred and eighty-one to fourteen hundred, reduced it almoſt to nothing.

The chief families which, as leaders of that faction, were perſecuted, were the Alberti, Ricci, and Medici, who were more than once ſpoiled both of their goods and men; and if any remained in the city, all honours were taken from them; which ſtrokes not only humbled that party, but in a manner conſumed them. Yet there ſtill remained in the minds of men a memory of the injuries received, and a deſire of revenge: which, becauſe they had not power ſuitable to their wills, they kept locked up in their breaſts. Thoſe popular nobles, who peaceably governed the city, committed two errors, which were the ruin of their government: firſt, that by a continuance of rule they grew proud and inſolent; and the ſecond, that by reaſon of the they envy bore one another, and, for having too long poſſeſſion of the ſtate, they began to grow negligent, and not have that watchful care over thoſe who might offend them, as they ought: under theſe, therefore, by their corrupt manners, daily reviving the hate of the people, and not watching after new ſeditions, becauſe they did not fear them, or foment-

ing them by the envy they bore each other, the family of the Medici came to regain authority.

The firſt among whom, that began to riſe again, was John di Ricci. This man, having poſſeſſed himſelf of great riches, and being naturally courteous and liberal, by conceſſion of thoſe which governed, was advanced to the ſupreme magiſtracy; which was by the public received with ſo much joy, the multitude thinking they had now got a defender, that the wiſeſt and moſt prudent were, not without cauſe, jealous of it, becauſe they ſaw the antient humours again to take life: nor was Nicolas Uzano wanting to advertiſe the other citizens, repreſenting to them how dangerous it was to cheriſh one of ſo univerſal a reputation; and that it was eaſy to cruſh diſorders in the egg, but hard remedying them when they were full hatched and flown: that he knew John had many parts and endowments ſuperior to Silveſter. But Nicolas was not at all liſtened to by his equals, who envied his reputation, and deſired rather ſome aſſiſtance to depreſs him.

Theſe humours thus ſet a working in Florence, and ſecretly gathering to a head, Philip Viſconti, ſecond ſon of John Galeazzo, being, by his brother's death, become lord of all Lombardy, and imagining himſelf able enough for the attempt, he had a mighty deſire to make himſelf lord of Genoa, which now under the dukedom of ſignior Thomas de Campo Fregoſo, lived free. But he was ſomewhat diſtruſtful of bringing that, or any other enterprize to perfection, if he firſt concluded not a new

league with the Florentines, the reputation of which only he thought would be ſufficient to procure his ſatisfaction. He therefore ſends his ambaſſadors to Florence to demand it. Many citizens were of opinion not to grant it, who yet wiſhed a continuance of that peace which had been for many years maintained betwixt them, for they knew the advantage and reputation would accrue to him by it, whilſt the city reaped little or no benefit; others adviſed to grant a new league, and in it impoſe ſuch conditions upon him, that if he paſſed them, his evil intentions might be diſcovered; and they, if he ſhould break the peace, more juſtly make war againſt him. But however things were argued, a peace was concluded, whereby Philip promiſed, not to concern himſelf in any thing on this ſide Pannaro, or the river Magra.

This accord made, Philip takes Breſchia, and ſoon after Genoa, contrary to their opinion, who in Florence had adviſed the peace: for all men thought Breſchia would be defended by the Venetians, and that Genoa would defend itſelf. And becauſe in the agreement made by Philip with the duke of Genoa, he had reſerved Serazama, and ſome other towns on this ſide the Magra, with an obligation, that whenever he would alienate them, he ſhould be obliged to ſell them to the Genoeſe; Philip, by this means, had violated the peace; and he had beſides entered into league with the legate of Bologna: which matters very much incenſed our citizens: and made them, doubtful of new miſchiefs, prepare new remedies.

Theſe diſturbances coming to Philip's knowlege, he ſends ambaſſadors to Florence, either to juſtify himſelf, or to make an eſſay of the Florentines deſigns; or elſe to lull them in ſecurity; pretending to be ſurprized at the jealouſies they had of him, and offering to renounce any thing done by him, that might beget the leaſt ſuſpicion. Which ambaſſadors did nothing elſe but divide the city; for one part, and thoſe the men of the moſt reputation in the ſtate, judged it convenient to arm, and be in a readineſs, to counter any deſigns of the enemy; for when theſe preparations were made, if Philip remained quiet, war was not begun, but peace provided for: but others, out of envy to thoſe that governed, or fearful of the war, were of opinion they ought not to ſuſpect a friend too lightly, nor had he done any thing deſerving ſo much jealouſy. But they knew very well, that the creating the ten, and the hiring ſoldiers, was bidding defiance to ſo great a prince, to the ruin of the city, without any advantage; it being impoſſible for us, whilſt Romania lay between, to become lords of any thing we ſhould conquer, and we not being in a condition to attempt any thing on Romania, becauſe of the neighbourhood of the church.

However, their authority, who were for preparation of war, prevailed over theirs who were for a ſullen peace, and they created the ten, liſted ſoldiers, and levied taxes. Which, becauſe they were laid heavier on the common people than the wealthier citizens, filled the city full of heart-burnings,

and every one condemned the power and ambition of the great ones, accuſing them, that to ſatisfy their own appetites, and to oppreſs and domineer over the people, they had raiſed an unneceſſary war. They were not yet come to an open breach with the duke, but affairs ſtood in a very tickliſh poſture: for the duke, at the requeſt of the legate of Bologna, who ſtood in fear of ſignior Antonio Bentivoglio, who, being driven out of the city, held a caſtle of Bologna, had ſent ſome of his forces thither, which bordering on the dominions of Florence, made that ſtate jealous of the intent. But that which ſtartled every one, and became the greateſt occaſion of the war, was the duke's expedition to Furli.

George Ordelaffi was lord of Furli; who, dying, left Theobald, his ſon, under guardianſhip of Philip: and though the mother, jealous of ſuch a guardian, had ſent him to Louis Alidoſſo, lord of Imola, her father; yet ſhe was forced, by the people of Imola, to perform the will of the dead, and to reſign him again into the hands of the duke; whereupon Philip, to give the leſs ſuſpicion, and better conceal his intentions, commanded the marquis of Ferrara, to ſend Guido Torello, with a competency of forces, to take, as his deputy, poſſeſſion of the government of Furli; and thus fell that town into Philip's power: which wars, when, together with the ſending forces to Bologna, it came to be known at Florence, facilitated the determinations of war, though ſtill they found great oppoſition, and John

de Medici publicly diſſuaded them. He urged, that though they were certain of the duke's ill intentions, yet were it better to ſtay till he gave the aſſault, than firſt to attempt him; for, in that caſe, the war would, in the judgment of the princes of Italy, be as juſtifiable on the duke's part as ours: nor could they ſo reaſonably demand thoſe aſſiſtances, which otherwiſe they might, if his ambition were firſt diſcovered; and that, with other hearts, and other forces ſhould they defend their own than other mens.

The other party alleged, that it was folly to ſtay for an enemy in their own houſes, but bravery to go meet him; that fortune is kinder to the aſſailer than the defender; and that the damage would be leſs, though the charge might be greater, to make their enemies country the ſeat of war, than their own. Whereupon this opinion prevailed; and it was determined, that the council of ten ſhould uſe all poſſible means to redeem the city of Furli out of the duke's hands. Philip ſeeing that the Florentines would ſnatch from him thoſe things he had undertaken to defend, laying aſide all reſpects, ſent Agnolo of Pergola, with a part of his army to Imola, to the end, that that lord being buſied in his own defence, might not be at leiſure to ſuccour his nephew. And Agnolo coming near Imola, whilſt the Florentine forces were yet at Modigliana, the ſeaſon being ſo ſharp, that the ditches of the city were frozen, he one night took the town, and ſent Louis priſoner to Milan. The Florentines ſee-

ing Imola loſt, and the war broke out, ſent their army to Furli, who laid ſiege to the city, and ſtreightned it on all ſides. And becauſe the duke's forces might not unite to relieve it, they had taken into pay count Alberigo, who, from the town of Zoganara, over-run the whole country as far as Imola.

Agnolo of Pergola, ſeeing he could not ſecurely relieve Furli, our forces had ſo ſtrongly begirt it, reſolves to attack Zoganara; judging, that the Florentines would not let him take that town, and if they would relieve it, they muſt raiſe their ſiege before Furli, and with ſome diſadvantage come to a battle. He therefore conſtrained count Alberigo's men to come to conditions, "That if they were "not, in fifteen days, relieved by the Florentines, "they would ſurrender." This news ſoon arrived both to the Florentine camp, and city; and every one being deſirous the enemy ſhould not carry away ſuch a victory, became the occaſion of their gaining a much greater: for the camp, raiſed from before Furli, to relieve Zoganara, almoſt as ſoon as they came to engage with the duke's forces, were routed, not ſo much by the valour of their enemies, as by the bitterneſs of the weather; for ours having marched for ſeveral hours in very deep road, and through violent rains, came wet and weary to encounter a freſh enemy, that eaſily covercame them. Yet in ſo great a defeat, famous throughout all Italy, died no more but ſignior Lodovico Albizi, and two more of his people, who falling off their horſes were ſtrangled in the mud.

The whole city of Florence was infinitely afflicted at the news of this defeat, but principally thoſe great men who had adviſed the war, who now beheld their enemies ſtrong, and themſelves diſarmed, deſtitute of friends, and the people averſe to them, and in all places with bitter reproachful words reviling them, complaining of their heavy taxes laid on them to make a war without cauſe, and uttering ſuch taunts as theſe: 'What! did they only create the 'ten to frighten the enemy? How bravely they 'have relieved Furli, and reſcued it out of the duke's 'hands! It is apparent now what their arms and 'determinations were; not to defend our liberty, 'which is indeed their enemy, but to increaſe their 'own power, which God has juſtly diminiſhed. 'Nor is this the only enterprize for which they 'have burdened the city, for, beſides many others, 'that againſt king Ladiſlaus was juſt like it. Whi-'ther will they now fly for help? to pope Martin, 'harraſſed by them for Braccio's ſake? to queen 'Joan, whom by abandoning they have forced to 'caſt herſelf into the king of Arragon?" With many other ſcoffing expreſſions, uſual with an incenſed people.

Wherefore the lords thought convenient to aſſemble many of the citizens, who, by good words, might quiet theſe commotions of the multitude: to whom ſignior Rinaldo de Albizi, the eldeſt ſon of ſignior Maſo, who, by his own virtue, and the memory of his father, aſpired to the chief degrees in the city, ſpoke at large; remonſtrating, 'That

'it was not prudence to judge of things by the ef-
'fects; for many times things well adviſed meet
'with croſs events, and things ill adviſed ſucceed;
'but if ill counſel were praiſed for its ſucceſs, it
'would be an encouragement to error, and prove
'very hurtful to the commonwealth, becauſe evil
'counſels are ſeldom happy. So likewiſe ſhould
'we blame a prudent undertaking, becauſe it had
'not a joyful event, we ſhould diſcountenance good
'citizens, and make them unwilling to ſpeak what
'they think.' Then he explained to them the ne-
ceſſity of undertaking the war, and that if it had not
been carried into Romania, it would have been
brought into Tuſcany: but ſince it was the will of
God their army was defeated, the loſs would be the
heavier, the more that they forſook it. But if they
would turn their faces to fortune, and apply thoſe
remedies they might, they would neither be very
ſenſible of the loſs, nor the duke of the victory.
And that they ſhould not be caſt down at the fu-
ture charge and taxes; for that the former being
rationally to grow leſs, the burden of the latter would
be much eaſed; in regard that fewer preparations
may ſerve for defence than offence. In the end,
he exhorted them to imitate their fathers, whoſe
minds no adverſity being able to daunt, they had
ever defended themſelves againſt what prince ſo-
ever.

Upon which the citizens, perſuaded by his au-
thority, entertained count Odo, the ſon of Braccio,
in their pay, giving him for ſuperintendent or

governor, Nicolas Piccinnino, a friend of Braccio's, and of the greateſt reputation of any man that ever fought under his colours; to whom they joined many other leaders, and mounted again many of their own men that had loſt their horſes. They appointed likewiſe twenty citizens to levy a new tax, who taking heart, upon perceiving how much the great men were caſt down for the laſt defeat, laid it on them without any manner of reſpect. This oppreſſion grievouſly offended the principal citizens, who at firſt were ſo civil as to bear their load without much repining; but when the injuſtice of it began to be generally complained of, they began to conſult how to eaſe themſelves; which coming to the knowlege of many, the councils not only obſtructed it, but, to make the bitterneſs and hardſhip of it be more effectually felt, and to render it more odious, ordered the exactors of it, with all ſeverity to collect it, giving authority to kill any one that ſhould oppoſe the public ſerjeants. From whence happened many diſmal accidents; as, the ſlaying and wounding ſeveral citizens: ſo that many feared things would have come to blood, and every prudent man dreaded ſome future evil; the great men, uſed to be reſpected, not able to endure being thus trampled on, and others deſirous that every one ſhould be equally charged.

Wherefore many of the chief citizens conſulted together, and concluded it neceſſary to reſume the government, for that their want of diligence and

care had given men courage to reprove public acts, and encreaſed the boldneſs of thoſe who uſed to be heads of the plebeians. And, after ſeveral times diſcourſing theſe things among themſelves, they reſolved upon a ſudden meeting all together, and accordingly aſſembled in the church of St. Stephen more than ſeventy citizens, by the leave of ſignior Ridolfi di Fidi, and Francis Gianfigliazzi, who then ſat as lords. John de Medici met not with them, either becauſe he was not ſummoned, they being jealous of him, or, becauſe he would not, differing from them in judgment, meet.

Signior Rinaldo de Albizi ſpoke to them all, and ſet forth the ſtate of the city, and how, by their negligence, it was was returned into the power of the plebeians, from whom it had, in the year thirteen hundred and eighty-one, been delivered by their fathers. He put them in mind of the wickedneſs of that government, which ruled from thirteen hundred and ſeventy-ſeven to thirteen hundred and eighty, and that by it there were none there preſent but had either a father or a grandfather ſlain; how they were falling into the like dangers, and the city relapſing into the like diſorders; for the multitude had already laid a tax at their own pleaſure, and would ere long, if not by force or law reſtrained, create magiſtrates at their own arbitriment, whereby one party would live licentiouſly, and the other in danger, or under the tyranny of ſome one whom they ſhould make prince: thereupon affirming, that every one who loved his country, or his

honour, ought to reſent it, and call to mind the valour of Bardi Mancini, who redeemed, with the ruin of the Alberti, the city out of thoſe dangers that then encampaſſed it. And ſince the occaſion of this boldneſs, aſſumed by the people, proceeded from the numerous Squittini, or imborſations, by the negligence of thoſe that ordered the purſes, whereby the palace became filled with new and raſcally fellows, he concluded there was no other way to remedy it, but by reſtoring the government to the grandees, and taking away the authority of the inferior arts, reducing the fourteen companies to ſeven, whereby the plebeians would have leſs power in the councils, as well becauſe their numbers would be diminiſhed, as becauſe the authorities of the grandees would be augmented, who, out of their ancient malice, would ſtill hate them: affirming it an act of prudence to know how to make uſe of men, according to different occaſions; for if their fathers had made uſe of the plebeians to root out the inſolence of the grandees, now the grandees were grown humble, and the plebeians inſolent, it were juſt to bridle their inſolence with the help of thoſe. And that this buſineſs might be managed either by policy or power, to either of which they might have eaſy recourſe; for ſome of them, being of the magiſtrates of the ten, might, without much difficulty, bring forces privily into the city.

Signior Rinaldo was praiſed, and his counſel approved by every body. Nicolas Urano, among

others, ſaid, that all that had been ſpoken by ſignior Rinaldo was true, and the remedies good and certain, provided they might be applied without manifeſt diviſion of the city, which would follow of itſelf, if they would draw John de Medici to their party; for he concurring with them, the powers of the multitude, being without a head, could not do great injury; but without his concurrence there was no effecting it but by arms, which he thought hazardous, both becauſe they might not overcome, or if they did, might not enjoy their victory modeſtly; refreſhing their memories with their own paſt records, and how they would not, when they might with eaſe have done it, remedy theſe inconvenencies; whereas now, there was no way left of doing it, without hazard of greater danger, but by gaining him.

Commiſſion was therefore given to ſignior Rinaldo to confer with John, and endeavour to prevail with him to join with them. The gentleman performed his commiſſion, and in the moſt obliging terms he could invent, exhorted him to be aſſiſtant to them in this enterprize, and not, by favouring a multitude, increaſe their boldneſs, to the ruin of the government and of the city. To which John anſwered, 'That he believed it the office of a wiſe 'and good citizen, not to alter the accuſtomed and 'uſual orders of the city, there being nothing ex- 'poſes men more than the change of them; for 'thoſe variations muſt offend many, and where 'numbers are diſcontented, ill accidents may well

'be daily feared. That in his opinion this deſign of 'theirs was in two things very pernicious: firſt, 'by giving honours to thoſe who, having never had 'them, will eſteem them leſs, and not having them, 'have leſs reaſon to complain: and the other, by tak-'ing them from thoſe who, being accuſtomed to 'enjoy them, will never be at reſt till they get them 'reſtored. And thus, the injury done to one par-'ty will ſeem much greater than the benefit done 'to the other: ſo that the authors of it will gain 'but few friends, and many enemies; and the lat-'ter will be much more ready to injure them, than 'the others to defend them. Men being naturally 'more prone to revenge injuries than requite kind-'neſſes, becauſe this brings damage with it, and 'the other pleaſure and profit.' Then particular-ly addreſſig himſelf to ſignior Rinaldo; 'And you,' ſaid he, 'had you well weighed the event of things, 'and under what vizards of deceit men walk in 'this city, would not be ſo hot in this determina-'tion; for, whoever counſels you to it, when, 'with your power, they have taken away the au-'thority from the people, will with their aſſiſtance, 'whom you muſt, by ſuch an injury, make your 'enemies, take away yours from you. And it will 'happen to you, as it did to ſignior Benedicto Al-'berti, who conſented, by perſuaſion of thoſe, 'who had no kindneſs for him, to the ruin of 'George Scali and Thomas Strozzi, and ſoon after 'was, by thoſe very people that had perſuaded 'him to it, ſent into baniſhment.' He therefore

exhorted him to a more mature deliberation of the matter, and that he would imitate his father, who, having gained an univerſal reputation with the people, ſlighted the malignant tempers of the few. He therefore adviſed, that whoever had leſs than half a florins tax to pay, ſhould be left to his own choice to pay or no: and, that on the days the council aſſembled, every man ſhould be ſecure from his creditors; concluding, that for his part he would leave their city in the order he found it.

Theſe things being reported abroad, gained John reputation, and contracted a general hate upon the other citizens, from whoſe converſation he utterly withdrew himſelf, leſt he ſhould give them encouragement under his countenance to contrive novelties; and in his diſcourſes he every where explained himſelf as a man deſigning not to foment ſedition, but to extirpate it: and had no other intent but to promote, as far as in him lay, the union of the city. At which, many of his followers were diſcontented, wiſhing that he would rather, in matters of this nature, appear more briſk and lively: among whom was Alaman Medici, who, being naturally fierce, continually urged him to the perſecution of his enemies, and favouring his friends, condemning his coldneſs and deliberate way of proceeding, which he urged as the reaſon that made his enemies, without any reſpect, conſpire againſt him; which contrivances of them would one day come to be the ruin of him and his friends. His ſon Coſmo urged him likewiſe to the ſame things; but John would not

be moved, by any diſcoveries or prognoſtications, from his ſettled reſolves: however the faction was already known every where, and the city in open diviſion.

There were in the palace, attending the lords, two Cancellieri, or ſecretaries, one called Martin, the other Pagolo. The laſt favoured the faction of Uzano, and the firſt of the Medici: Signior Rinaldo, ſeeing John would not agree with them, thought it convenient to get Martin removed from his office, thinking thereby to have the court more favourable; but the adverſaries getting intelligence of it, Martin was not only defended, but Pagolo turned out, to the great regret and diſpleaſure of the party; which had ſoon produced dire effects, had it not been for the war that hung over the city, then extremely terrified at the defeat of Zagonara. For, whilſt theſe things were bandied within, Agnolo of Pergola had taken all the towns poſſeſſed by the Florentines in Romania, except Caſtracazo and Modiglia, ſome of the places being but weak, and others ill guarded.

In the taking of which places happened two things, by which may be known how valour is eſteemed even in an enemy, and baſeneſs and cowardize deſpiſed. Braggio del Milano was governor of the rock of Monte Petroſo, who, when the enemy had ſet fire round about him, and that he ſaw no way to ſave the fortreſs, he threw down beds and houſhold-ſtuff from that part above, which had not yet taken fire, and upon them caſt down his little chil-

dren, crying out to his enemies: 'Here, take theſe 'goods which fortune has given me, and which 'you may bereave me of; but the goods of my 'mind, where glory and honour reſide, I will nei-'ther give you, nor can you force them from me.'

The enemy upon this preſently ran to ſave the children, and brought him ropes and ladders to ſave himſelf, but he would not accept them, chooſing rather to die in the midſt of the flames, than live by the favour of the enemies of his country. An example worthy of often praiſed antiquity, and ſo much the more wonderful, becauſe now more rare! His very enemies reſtored to his children all that could be ſaved, and with great care ſent them to their kindred: nor was the commonwealth leſs kind to them; for, while they lived, they were maintained at public charge.

The contrary of this happened at Galeata, where Canobi del Pino was Podeſta, or mayor, who, without any defence, ſurrendered the fortreſs to the enemy; and, to complete his villany, adviſed Agnolo to leave the Alps of Romania, and come among the little hills of Tuſcany, where he might make war with leſs hazard, and more gain. Agnolo, who could not endure the baſeneſs and treachery of this man's ſoul, delivered him up as a prey to his vileſt ſervants, who, after many ſcoffs and taunts, gave him nothing to eat but paper painted with ſnakes and ſerpents; telling him, that, by that diet, they would make him, from Guelf turn Ghibelline; ſo that, pining and languiſhing, in few days he died.

Mean while, count Oddo, and Nicolas Piccinino, were got into the vale of Lamona, to try to reduce the lord of Faenza to the Florentines ſide, or at leaſt hinder Agnolo of Pergamo from making farther inroads in Romania: but that valley being ſtrong, and the inhabitants all bred ſoldiers, they ſlew Oddo, and carried Nicolas Piccinino priſoner to Faenza. But fortune was pleaſed that the Florentines ſhould gain that, by being overcome, which poſſibly, had they been conquerors, they had not obtained; for Nicolas wrought ſo with the lord of Faenza, that he made them become friends to Florence; by which agreement Nicolas was ſet free, but could not himſelf follow that counſel he had given to others; for contracting with thoſe citizens about his entertainment, whether the conditions ſeemed to him too low, or that he thought he could do better elſewhere, he went from Arezza, where he was in garriſon, into Lombardy, and took pay of the duke.

The Florentines terrified at this accident, and daunted with ſo great loſſes and expences, judging themſelves no longer able to maintain this war alone, ſent ambaſſadors to the Venetians, to deſire them, whilſt yet with eaſe they might, to oppoſe themſelves to the growing greatneſs of a man, whom, if they permitted to proceed, would, in the end, be no leſs pernicious to them than to the Florentines. Francis Carmignuola, a man in theſe times held to be moſt expert in war, and who had formerly ſerved in arms under the duke, but has ſince rebelled againſt him, exhorted them to the ſame. The Ve-

netians were at firſt doubtful, not knowing how far they might truſt Carmignuola, whoſe quarrel with the duke they feared might be reconciled; but whilſt matter ſtood thus in ſuſpenſe, it happened that the duke, by means of a ſervant of Carmignuola, cauſed him to be poiſoned. The poiſon was not ſtrong enough to kill him, but reduced him almoſt to extremity; the occaſion of which being diſcovered, took away all ſuſpicion from the Venetians; and the Florentines, continuing to ſolicite them, made a league with them, every one to make war at their own charge, and the acquiſitions made in Lombardy to be the Venetians, and thoſe in Romania and Tuſcany the Florentines; and Carmignuola was made captain general of the league.

By this means the war was brought into Lombardy, where it was vigorouſly proſecuted by Carmignuola, who in few months took many towns from the duke, together with the city of Breſcia; which conqueſts were, in thoſe times, and as war was then made, thought wonderful. This war had laſted from fourteen hundred and twenty-two to twenty-ſeven; and the citizens of Florence were weary of the taxes as they were hitherto laid, which made them reſolve to renew them in another manner: and becauſe they ſhould be proportioned according to their riches, they ordered them to be laid upon ſtock, and that whoever had a hundred florins eſtate, ſhould pay one half tax: and the law and not men being to deſtribute it, many wealthy citizens were ſorely grieved. But before it could

be determined, it was by them oppoſed; only John Medici openly commended it, and obtained it; and becauſe in diſtributing it, they taxed every man's ſtock, which the Florentines call Accaſtare, they named this tax *Cataſto*.

This law in ſome meaſure regulated the tyranny of the great men, becauſe they could not now beat the inferior people, and make them with threats hold their tongues in councils as formerly. The tax was therefore univerſally accepted by them, but by the great men with infinite diſpleaſure ſubmitted to. But as it happens, that men are never ſatisfied, but having got one thing deſire another; ſo the people not content with the equality of the tax impoſed by law, they demanded a ſearch into times paſt, and inquiry to be made what the rich men had paid leſs than the Cataſto, and that they ſhould be made to pay ſo much more to equal them, who, to pay what they ought not, had ſold their inheritances.

This demand ſtartled men more than the Cataſto had done, and they condemned it as the moſt unjuſt thing in the world, being placed upon moveables, poſſeſſed to-day, and gone to-morrow; and beſides, that there were many who had their money hid, which the Cataſto could not find out; to which they added, that thoſe who governed the common-wealth, leaving their own buſineſs undone, ought to the be leſs charged by it; and, that it was not juſt that the city ſhould have their labour, induſtry, and money too; and from the others, only money. But

others, who were pleaſed with the Cataſto, anſwered, that if moveables varied, taxes might likewiſe vary, and by varying them often, that inconveniency be remedied. And for thoſe who had their money hid, there was no account to be made; for what they imployed not to benefit, there was no reaſon ſhould pay; and when once they imployed it, it would be diſcovered: and if they thought much to employ their times and pains for the commonwealth, they ſhould give over; for enough of living citizens were to be found, who would willingly aſſiſt it with their money, and counſel too. And beſides, the advantages and honours attending government were ſo great, that they ought to content themſelves with them, without expecting to be freed from the burdens laid on others. But they gueſſed not where the ſhoe pinched; for it grieved them moſt that they could not wage a war without bearing a ſhare with others in the charge. And if this courſe had been taken before, neither the war with king Ladiſlaus, nor that with duke Philip had ever been begun, which were only made to enrich the citizens, and not out of neceſſity.

But theſe ſtirring humours were quieted by John Medici, who alleged, 'That it was not convenient 'to make a review into paſt things, but to provide 'well for the future; and if the taxes had hither-'to been unjuſt, they ought to return thanks to 'God for finding out now a way to adjuſt them, 'and with it might be rather a means to reunite 'than divide the city; which muſt needs be, if

'they made an inquiſition into paſt impoſts, to make 'them equal with the preſent: that he that is con-'tent with a moderate victory, choſes the better 'part; for they who would over-do things, often 'loſe all.' With theſe, and ſuch like words, he quieted theſe humours, and put a ſtop to all further diſputes about the equality.

In the mean time, a peace was with the duke concluded at Ferrara, by means of the pope's legate; the articles of which were not at all obſerved by the duke: whereupon they of the league again renewed the war, and fighting with the duke at Maclovio, defeated him. After which overthrow the duke made new propoſals of agreement, to which both the Venetians and Florentines conſented: theſe, becauſe they grew jealous of the Venetians, thinking they ſpent too much to make others great; thoſe, becauſe they perceived Carmignuola, after the duke's defeat, proceed very ſlowly, ſo that they could not well tell how they might longer truſt him.

Peace was therefore concluded in the year fourteen hundred and twenty-eight, by which the Florentines were reſtored to all the towns they had loſt in Romania, and Breſcia remained in the Venetians hands; and the duke moreover gave them Bergamo, and the adjoining territory. The Florentines ſpent in this war three million five hundred thouſand ducats, by which the Venetians gained power and greatneſs; and they, poverty and diſſention.

Peace was no ſooner concluded abroad, but the war was revived at home: for the principal citizens not able to ſuffer the Cataſto, nor knowing any way how to eaſe themſelves of its intolerable burden, they contrived how to raiſe up more enemies againſt it, that they might have the more force to oppoſe and ſuppreſs it; declaring to the officers of the impoſition, that by law they were commanded likewiſe to make inquiry into the towns abroad, ſubject to them, and to find out, if there were there any Florentines goods; whereupon the ſubjects were all on appointed days ordered to bring in ſchedules of their eſtates. Upon which the Volterans, diſcontented, ſent their complaints to the ſenate, which ſo incenſed the officers of the impoſitions, that they clapt eighteen of them in priſon; which action enraged the Volterans; yet out of reſpect to their priſoners they for the preſent rebelled not.

About this time John de Medici fell ſick, and perceiving his diſtemper to be mortal, called Coſmo and Laurence his ſons, and told them, 'I believe 'the time of life alloted me at my birth, by God 'and nature, is now almoſt expired; and I ſhall 'die content, becauſe I leave you rich, healthy, and 'in ſuch a condition, that you may, if you follow 'my footſteps, live honourably in Florence, and 'eſteemed by all men. Nor is there any thing con-'tributes more to my preſent ſatisfaction than the 'conſcience of never having offended, but rather,

'to the utmoſt of my power, endeavoured to pleaſe 'all men: and let me perſuade you to do the like, 'and, if you would live ſecure and quiet, to aſſume 'no more of the government, than by the laws 'and by men is given to you, which will never be 'attended either with envy or danger; for it is 'what men ſeize by violence, and not what is free-'ly given them, that creates a hatred of them. 'And many there are, who, out of a covetous de-'ſire of other mens, have loſt their own poſſeſſions, 'or enjoyed them with care and trouble. By ob-'ſerving this golden rule have I, among ſo many 'factions and contrarieties of opinions, not only 'maintained, but increaſed my reputation in this 'city; and you, following the ſame courſes, will 'find the ſame effects; but doing otherwiſe, you 'cannot expect your ends to be happier than theirs, 'who, in your memory, have undone themſelves, 'and ruined their families.'

Soon after he died, univerſally lamented by the city, as his excellent qualities deſerved. This John was ſo remarkably charitable, that he not only gave charity when aſked, but many times prevented the petitions of the poor. He loved all men, praiſing the good, and pitying the bad. He never ſought after offices, yet had all conferred on him: he never went to the palace uncalled for; was a lover of peace, and a deteſter of war; a reliever of men in adverſity, and a ſupporter of them in proſperity; a ſtranger to public rapine, and a promoter of the

common good: courteous he was in his magiſtracies, and though of no great eloquence, yet of ſingular wiſdom. He ſeemed to be of a melancholy complexion, but was in converſation obliging and merry. He died very rich in treaſure, but richer in his citizens love and good report, whoſe inheritances, as well of goods of mind as fortune, were by his ſon Coſmo not only preſerved, but enlarged.

The Volterans were ſoon weary of impriſonment, and to procure their liberty, promiſed to comply with whatever was commanded: whereupon, being ſet free, at their return to Volterra, they found the time come wherein they were to make election of new priors; among whom was drawn one Juſtus a plebeian, but of great credit among the people, and one of thoſe who had been impriſoned in Florence. He, incenſed both for the public and private injury received from the Florentines, and more particularly perſuaded by one John, a gentleman that ſat with him in the magiſtracy, who encouraged him, by the favour of the people, and the power of the priors, to take the city from the Florentines, and make himſelf prince of it, ranſacked the town, ſeized the Florentine governor, and, with conſent of the people, made himſelf lord of it.

This novelty, happening in Volterra, much diſturbed the Florentines; yet having made ſo late an agreement with the duke, they hoped they had time to recover it: and not to let ſlip the opportunity, ſent immediately Rinaldo Albizi, and Palla Strozzi, as their commiſſaries thither. Juſtus, hav-

ing reaſon to ſuppoſe the Florentines would aſſault him, craved aid of Siena and Lucca. Siena denied him, alleging they were in league with Florence; and Paul Guinigi, then lord of Lucca, to regain the favour of the Florentines, which he doubted to have loſt during the war with Milan, not only refuſed Juſtus any aſſiſtance, but ſent his envoy priſoner to Florence. The commiſſaries mean while, that they might find the Volterans the more unprovided, ſpeedily drew together their men at arms, and in the lower vale of Arno, and province of Piſa, levied ſufficient infantry, and marched directly to Volterra. Nor was Juſtus, either upon the refuſal of aid from his neighbours, or upon the approach of the Florentines to aſſault him, in the leaſt diſmayed, but truſting to the ſtrength of the ſituation, and largeneſs of the town, prepared for his defence.

There was in Volterra one ſignior Arcolano, brother of that John who had perſuaded Juſtus to ſeize the principality; who, being of great credit among the nobility, gathered together ſundry of his friends and confidents, and declared to them, how God, by this accident, had lent his helping hand to the neceſſities of the city; for if they would now conſent to take arms, and thruſting Juſtus from his lordſhip, reſtore the city to the Florentines, they would both themſelves become the heads of that town, and preſerve all its antient privileges. Whereupon, agreeing upon the matter, they preſently went to the palace where Juſtus reſided, and the greater part of them ſtaying below, ſignior Arcolano, with

three more, went into the hall where he was, and finding him with ſome citizens, drew him apart into another room, as if they would communicate to him ſome matter of importance, and there all falling upon him ſlew him: yet were they not ſo nimble, but Juſtus had time to lay hand upon his ſword, and before they could diſpatch him, deſperately wounded two of them; but not able to deal long with ſo many, he was in the end ſlain, and his body thrown out of the palace: and thoſe of Arcolano's party taking arms, ſurrendered the city to the Florentine commiſſaries, that lay ready at hand with their forces, who, without any farther capitulations, entered the town, whereby the Volterans made their condition much worſe than it was before; for, among other things, they were diſmembered of the moſt part of their territories, and reduced under a lieutenancy.

Thus was Volterra loſt and gained in an inſtant, and no occaſion of war had remained, if ſome particular mens ambition had not given a being to it.

There had for a long time ſerved the Florentines, in their wars againſt the duke, one Nicolas Fortebraccio, ſiſter's ſon to Braccio of Perugia. Peace being concluded, he was diſmiſſed by the Florentines, and when the revolution at Volterra happened, was quartered at Fucechio; whereupon the commiſſaries thought fit to employ him and his forces. And it was ſuppoſed, that whilſt that affair was in agitation, Rinaldo had perſuaded him, under ſome pre-

tended quarrel, to aſſail the Luccheſi, hoping to manage things ſo, that the Florentines ſhould own the attempt, and make him general of the war. Volterra thus ſurprized, and Fortebraccio returned to his quarters at Fucechio, either upon Rinaldo's perſuaſions, or having deſigned it himſelf, in November fourteen hundred and twenty, with three hundred horſe, and three hundred foot, ſeizes upon Ruoti and Campito, two caſtles of the Luccheſi, and ſo marching forward plundered the whole country. The news of which was no ſooner publiſhed in Florence, but the ſtreets were filled with committees of all ſorts, and moſt wiſhed an attempt to be made upon Lucca. The chief citizens favouring it, were the Medici, and with them joined Rinaldo, induced to it, either out of hopes it would prove advantageous to his country; or, ambition, preſuming upon the honour of the victory. Thoſe which diſapproved it were Nicolas de Uzano, and his party.

It is almoſt incredible there ſhould be ſuch variety of opinions in one and the ſame city, and that in ſo material a point, as making a war for thoſe citizens, and that very people, who, after ten years peace, had blamed a war againſt duke Philip, for defence of their liberty, now, after ſuch a vaſt expence, and reducing the city under ſuch loads of oppreſſion and neceſſity, eagerly preſſed an expedition againſt Lucca, and the invading the liberties of others: and, on the other hand, thoſe who urged that, oppoſed this. So ſtrangely variable are the

minds of men, and ſo much more ready are the multitude to ſeize anothers right, than defend their own! for hope of winning prevails above fear of looſing; this being never dreaded till it approach, but the other always at a diſtance hoped for. And the people of Florence were not only ſwelled with the flattering hopes of the victories which Fortebraccio had, and might obtain, but encouraged by letters from the governors adjacent to Lucca: for the deputies of Peſcia and Vico wrote, for leave to take poſſeſſion of the caſtles offered to be ſurrendered to them, aſſuring that almoſt the whole territory of Lucca would ſubmit. On which the lord of of Lucca ſent his ambaſſador to Florence, to complain of the ſpoils made by Nicolas, and to intreat the ſenate, not to commence a war againſt their neighbours, and againſt a city that had always been their friend.

This ambaſſador was called James Vivian, who had formerly been kept priſoner by Paul Guinigi, lord of Lucca, for conſpiring againſt him; and though he were found guilty, had his life ſpared; and imagining Vivian had forgiven him the injury, as he had pardoned him his life, he now truſted and employed him. But the memory of the danger he had paſſed, prevailed with ſignior Vivian above the benefit received; ſo that being now come to Florence, he privily encouraged the citizens to the war; and his encouragements being fortified with the hopes they had before conceived, made the ſenate aſſemble a council, wherein appeared four hundred

and ninety-eight citizens, before whom by the chief of the city the matter was debated.

Among the firſt that furthered the enterprize, as has been ſaid before, was ſignior Rinaldo, who ſet forth the advantages accruing by the victory, and the preſent fitneſs of the opportunity; the duke and Venetians having deſerted them, and the pope, buſied in the affairs of the kingdom, not able to ſuccour them. To which he joined the facility of winning that city, ſlave to a citizen of its own, and thereby having loſt its native vigour, and antient care to defend its liberty. So that by means of the people, ſtudying how to drive out the tyrant, or the tyrant's fear of them, ſucceſs was not to be doubted. He likewiſe laid before them the injuries that lord had done their commonwealth, and how dangerous it were if the pope or duke ſhould renew the war: concluding, that never any undertaking of the Florentine people was either more eaſy, more advantageous, or more juſt.

In oppoſition to which opinion, Nicolas de Uzano ſtood forth and ſaid; that the city of Florence never undertook a more unjuſt nor a more hazardous enterprize; for, in the firſt place, they wounded themſelves by wounding a city of the Guelf faction, which had always been moſt affectionate to Florence, and which, with danger to itſelf, had received into its ſanctuary the baniſhed Guelfs, that durſt not abide their own country: nor was there any record to be produced, that Lucca, whilſt free, had ever offended Florence; but if thoſe that had

enſlaved her had done it, as firſt Caſtruccio, and now the preſent lord, the blame was to be laid on the tyrant, and not the city. If therefore they would make war againſt the citizens, it would be much more reaſonable; but ſince that could not be, he would never conſent to the ſpoiling and ſacking of a city that had ever been their friend: however, ſince right and wrong are things which now-a-days are made no account of, he would urge them no farther, and only conſult of the advantages our city might poſſibly gain by this attempt. Whereupon his opinion was, that thoſe things only could be properly called advantageous, which were not probably liable to loſs and damage, and therefore he could not underſtand how any would reaſonably term that enterprize adantageous, where the loſs was certain, and the profit doubtful: that certain loſs would be the vaſt charges attending ſuch an enterprize, which ſeemed ſo great that they were enough to terrify any peaceable city, much more ours tired and harraſſed with tedious war: the advantages propoſed, would be the adding Lucca to our dominion, which he confeſſed would be great, but the doubts of ſucceſs were ſo numerous, that the acquiſition to him ſeemed impoſſible. Nor could it enter into his belief, that either duke Philip, or the Venetians, would be pleaſed with it; for the laſt appeared only to conſent, that they might not appear ingrateful, having lately, with the Florentines money, won ſo great a dominion; and the other would rejoice to ſee us by a new war expoſed to the expence

of more treaſure; ſo that drained at once of our men and money, we might be, by him, the eaſier infeſted. Nor would he at any time, even in the height of the enterprize, and in our higheſt hopes of victory, want means to ſend relief to the Lucchesi, either covertly with money, or by pretended diſmiſſing his troops, and ſending them like ſoldiers of fortune to their aſſiſtance. He exhorted them therefore to wave the enterprize, and ſtudy ſuch a manner of living with the tyrant, as they might be able to ſuppreſs their enemies by themſelves; for there was no readier way to ſubdue them, than letting them ſtill live under the tyrant, to be by him oppreſſed and weakened; and by prudent management it might be effected, that the tyrant, no longer able to maintain his power, nor they knowing how to govern of themſelves, muſt of neceſſity fall under our protection. But the oppoſite humours having got the predominancy, he perceived his advice not at all liſtened to; yet he would take upon him the freedom of foretelling them, that they would ruſh upon a war of certain and great expence, attended with many dangers within, and inſtead of poſſeſſing themſelves of Lucca, free it from the tyrant's yoke, and from a weak and enſlaved city, not only ſet them at liberty, but engage their enmity, and create to themſelves in time, an obſtacle to the growing greatneſs of the republic.

Thus was this deſign controverted, till at laſt, as is uſual in ſuch caſes, they ſought privately to gain

voices, ſo that in the upſhot there appeared of the whole number only ninety-eight diſſenters: whereupon war was determined, a council of ten created to manage it, and horſe and foot ordered to be levied. Aſtorre Gianni and Rinaldo Albizi were appointed generals; and it was agreed, that Nicolas Fortebrace ſhould have the government of the places he had taken, he ſtill proſecuting the war under our pay.

The generals, with their army, being arrived in the territories of Lucca, divided their forces: Aſtorre marched down into the plain towards Camagiore and Pietraſanta; and Rinaldo, with his party, went up into the mountains, judging that the whole country waſted, the city would be eaſily ſubdued. This action proved unfortunate, not but that they ſurprized many towns, but becauſe there were great defects in the management of both generals. And moſt certain it is Aſtorre Gianni contributed much to his own diſhonour.

There is near Pietraſanta a vale called called Seravezza, rich and full of inhabitants, who, hearing the general was coming towards them, went to meet him, and ſubmitting themſelves, deſired to be received as faithful ſubjects of the Florentine people. Aſtorre made ſhew of accepting their ſubmiſſion; but afterwards with his ſoldiers ſeizing all the paſſes and fortreſſes of the valley, he cauſed all the men to aſſemble in their principal church, where he took them all priſoners, and then ſacked and ſpoiled the whole country, not ſparing the conſecrate

places; but in a cruel and avaritious manner, robbing the churches, and, without reſpect, abuſing both virgins and married women. Theſe barbarous proceedings were no ſooner related in Florence, but the whole city, as well as the magiſtracy, were offended at them; for ſome of the Seravezi, who had eſcaped out of the general's hands, fled to Florence, and in every ſtreet, and in every market place, filled the ears of the people with the relations of their miſeries: inſomuch, that encouraged by many citizens, who were deſirous to have the general puniſhed, either becauſe they indeed thought him a wicked man, or becauſe he was contrary to their faction, they went before the council of ten, and demanded audience; to which, being admitted, one of them ſpoke in this manner.

'We are very well aſſured, moſt mighty lords, 'that your lordſhips would afford both belief and 'compaſſion to what we have now to utter, did 'you know in what manner your general has uſed 'our country, and how cruelly we have been treat-'ed by him. Our vale, as may be found at large 'in your records, was always Guelf, and has been 'a faithful ſanctuary of your citizens, when, perſe-'cuted by the Ghibellines, they fled thither for ſhel-'ter. And our anceſtors have ever had in adora-'tion the name of this noble commonwealth, as 'the head of that ſect. Whilſt the Luccheſi were 'Guelfs, we willingly ſubmitted to their rule; but 'ſince a tyrant uſurped over them, and they de-

'ſerting their old friends, inclined to the Ghibelline
'party, we have rather by force than good-will
'paid them obedience. God knows how often we
'have prayed for an opportunity to teſtify our zeal
'to the ancient cauſe and party. But how blind are
'men in their deſires! what we coveted for our ſafe-
'ty, is become our ruin: for no ſooner heard we
'that your enſigns were marching towards us, but
'we went forth to meet them, not as enemies to
'oppoſe, but, as our anceſtors were wont, to ſub-
'mit our vale, ourſelves, our lives, and our for-
'tunes, into the hands of our general; relying on
'his faith, and believing to find him, if not of
'the noble Florentine temper, yet at leaſt not ut-
'terly void of humanity. Your lordſhips muſt
'pardon us, if the inſupportableneſs of our ſuffer-
'ings conſtrain us to ſpeak things undecent: that
'general of yours has nothing of a man but the
'preſence, nor of a Florentine but the name. He
'is the moſt deadly plague, the moſt ravenous ti-
'ger, and moſt execrable monſter nature ever pro-
'duced; for aſſembling us in our church, under
'pretence of ſpeaking with us, he made us cap-
'tives, burning and ruining all our valley; robbing,
'ſacking, and plundering the goods of the inhabi-
'tants; beating and ſlaying their perſons; defiling
'their wives, and raviſhing their virgins; nay,
'forcing them from their tender mothers arms, to
'make them a prey to the beaſtly luſt of the ſoldi-
'ers. Had we, by any injury, deſerved this from
'the Florentine people, or had we oppoſed his

'arms and been taken, we ſhould have had leſs 'cauſe to complain, nay, rather we ſhould have 'accuſed ourſelves, and blamed thoſe injuries, and 'that arrogance of ours which had brought thoſe 'miſeries upon us; but when diſarmed we ſub-'mitted ourſelves, then to rob and ſpoil us, and 'treat us with ſo much deſpite and ignominy, 'is a grief our hearts would burſt if we did not 'diſcloſe it, And though we might have filled all 'Lombardy with our complaints, and to the ſcan-'dal of this city, have ſpread abroad the fame of 'our barbarous injuries throughout all Italy, we 'have forborn to do it, unwilling to blemiſh 'ſo noble, ſo juſt, and ſo compaſſionate a common-'wealth, with the villany and cruelty of one diſ-'honeſt citizen, whoſe covetous temper, had we 'before our ruin been made ſenſible of, we ſhould 'have ſtrained ourſelves to ſatisfy his greedy mind, 'though it be inſatiate, and bottomleſs as the ſea, 'by giving up part of our ſubſtance to ranſom the 'remainder. But ſince that remedy is too late, we 'are forced now to have recourſe to your lordſhips, 'humbly beſeeching you to grant ſome relief to the 'misfortunes of your poor afflicted ſubjects, that 'men be not by your examples affrighted from ſub-'mitting themſelves to your government: or, if our 'infinite miſeries cannot move you, yet let the fear 'of God's anger perſuade you, who has beheld his 'churches ſacked and burnt, and our people be-'trayed in the very boſoms of them.' And here-

with concluding, they caſt themſelves proſtrate on the ground, beſeeching that their goods and country might be reſtored to them, and, though the womens loſt honours could not be retrieved, yet, that the wives might be returned to their huſbands, and the children to the parents.

The barbarouſneſs of this fact being before reported, and now by the tongues and tears of theſe afflicted men confirmed, ſo moved the magiſtracy, that without any delay they recalled Aſtorre, who was afterwards condemned, and admoniſhed. Inquiſition was likewiſe made after the goods of the Seravezeſi, and all that could be found reſtored, and the remainder were in proceſs of time, by the city, ſatisfied.

On the other ſide, ſignior Rinaldo de Albizi lay under the ſcandal of having perſuaded the war, not for public advantage, but private gain; and, that ſince his being made general, his eager deſire of ſubduing Lucca was vaniſhed, and he was ſatisfied with robbing and ſpoiling the country, ſtocking his own farms with cattle, and his houſes with plunder: nor yet content with his own ſhare of prey, he bought the private ſoldiers purchaſe, and ſo from a general was become a merchant. Theſe calumnies coming to his ears, touched to the quick his high and haughty ſoul, more than became a man of his rank and gravity, inſomuch, that fretted at the magiſtrates and citizens, without expecting or aſking leave, he returns to Florence, and preſenting himſelf before

the ten, ſaid: 'That he very well knew how great 'difficulty and danger there was in ſerving a looſe 'people, and a divided city; for the one are cre-'dulous of every idle rumour, and the other pu-'niſhes bad ſucceſs, never rewards the good, and 'blames the doubtful; ſo that none praiſe him that 'is victorious, all condemn him that errs, and ſlan-'der him that is unſucceſsful; his very friends per-'ſecuting him out of envy, and his enemies out of 'hatred: yet he had never ſtood ſo much in awe 'of evil tongues, as to forbear, for fear of them, 'any action that might redound to the advantage 'of his city, It is true, the preſent abuſes and 'ſlanders had over-wrought his patience, and made 'him change his nature; he therefore beſought 'the magiſtrates for the future, to be more ready 'to defend the fame of their citizens, if they ex-'pected their readineſs to act for the good of their 'country; and, ſince Florence permitted them not 'to triumph, they would at leaſt reſcue them from 'the reproach of evil tongues, remembering them-'ſelves to be citizens of the ſame town, and might, 'ſometime or other, have thoſe charges impoſed 'on them which might make them feel how bitter 'calumny is to an honeſt mind.'

The ten, temporizing, ſtrove to appeaſe him, and committed the charge of the war to Neri di Gino, and Alamanno Salviati, who, leaving off ſpoiling the country, made their approaches to the town. But becauſe the ſeaſon was yet very cold, they ſat down at Cappannole, where, though the

generals thought they loſt time, and were deſirous to lay a cloſer ſiege; yet the ſoldiers, becauſe of the bitterneſs of the weather, would not conſent, though the ten ſolicited them to decamp, and would admit no excuſe at all.

There was at this time in Florence an excellent architect, called Philip Bruneleſchi, who, with excellent buildings, had repleniſhed our city, ſo that he deſerved, after his death, to have his ſtatue ſet up in marble in the principal church in Florence, with an inſcription on the pedeſtal, teſtifying his excellencies of that kind. This man declared how Lucca, conſidering the ſituation of the city, and the courſe of the river Serchio, might eaſily be drowned, and was ſo poſitive in it, that the ten gave him leave to try the experiment, but his project produced only diſorder in our camp, and ſafety to the enemy: for the Lucheſi, with a high and ſtrong bank, oppoſed the courſe of the water, on that ſide whither they had turned the river, and then in the night cut the banks of that channel by which they conducted the ſtream; ſo that the banks towards Lucca being raiſed, and the ditch, by which the water was brought, broken, the ſtream reverted into the plain, whereby the camp was forced to draw farther off, and could no more approach the town.

This deſign proving thus unſucceſsful, the ten that were newly elected ſent ſignior John Guicciardine to be general. He, with all ſpeed poſſible, ſurrounded the town, and the lord of it finding himſelf now ſtraitned, by advice of Antony Roſſo,

reſident there from the ſtate of Siena, ſent Silveſter Trenta, and Lodovic Bonviſi to Milan. They, on the behalf of their lord, deſired that duke's aid; but finding him cold, they privately requeſted him to ſupply them with forces, promiſing, on the part of the people, to deliver up their lord priſoner, and ſurrender to him the poſſeſſion of the city: aſſuring him, that if he accepted not this offer, the lord would deliver up the town to the Florentines, who, by large promiſes, ſolicited him to it. Which ſuggeſtion put the duke in ſuch fear, that, laying aſide all reſpects, he gave order, that the earl Francis Sforza, his principal captain, ſhould publicly aſk his licence to go into the kingdom of Naples; which having eaſily obtained, he comes with his forces to Lucca: though the Florentines, miſtruſtful of the contrivance, and doubtful of the iſſue, had ſent to count Boccacino Alamanni to prevent him.

Earl Sforza being thus got into Lucca, the Florentine camp retreated to Librafatta; and the earl preſently marches and inveſts Peſcia, where Pagolo Diacetto was governor, who, taking counſel rather of fear than honour, flies to Piſtoia. And had not the town of Piſcia been defended by John Malavolti, who commanded the guards there, it had been certainly loſt. The earl therefore failing to take it at the firſt aſſault, goes to the borough of Bugiano, and takes it, and burns Stiliano a caſtle adjacent. The Florentines, growing ſenſible of theſe incroachments, had recourſe to a remedy which had often ſteaded them, knowing well that

where force failed to counterpoiſe a mercenary enemy, corruption would turn the ſcale; wherefore they made the earl a profer of money, to oblige him not only to depart, but to deliver them the town. The earl, perceiving there was no more money to be had from the Luccheſi, reſolved to accept it from thoſe who could give it, and therefore ſtruck a bargain with the Florentines for fifty thouſand ducats, not to deliver up Lucca, which in honour he could not do, but to leave it to its ſhifts as ſoon as the money ſhould be paid; and that the people of Lucca might excuſe him to the duke for making this agreement, he practiſed with them the turning out their lord.

There was in Lucca, as hath been ſaid before, one ſignior Antonio Roſſo, ambaſſador from Siena: he, by authority from the earl, contrived, with the citizens, the ruin of Pagolo the lord. The chief of the conſpirators were Peter Cennami, and John Chivizano. The earl lay encamped without the town by the river Serchio, and with him Lanzilaus, ſon of Paul Guinigi, lord of Lucca: ſo the conſpirators, to the number of forty, well armed, went by night to Paul, who, ſtartling at their ſudden intruſion, demanded the cauſe of their coming; to which Peter Cennami replied, that they had ſo long been governed by him till they were begirt with enemies, and in a fair way to periſh, either by ſword or famine, wherefore they were reſolved to govern themſelves for the future, and came now to demand the keys and treaſure of the city. To which Paul

made anſwer, that the treaſure was ſpent, but both the keys and himſelf were at their devotion; only requeſting, that ſince his government had begun and continued without blood, ſo without blood, by their favour, it might end. Paul and his ſon were, by earl Sforza, carried to the duke, where they afterwards died in priſon.

The earl's departure delivered the Lucheſi from the tyrant, and the Florentines from the fear of his forces: ſo thoſe made preparations of defence, and theſe returned to offend, having commiſſionated the earl of Urbin their general, who ſo ſtraitly beſieged the city, that the Luccheſi were again neceſſitated to have recourſe to the duke for aſſiſtance; and he, under the ſame pretences he had before ſent Sforza, now ſends Nicolas Piccinino to relieve them; who, endeavouring to enter Lucca, was by our men encountered on a paſs of the river Serchio, where our people were routed, the general, and ſome few more, ſaving themſelves at Piſa. This defeat afflicted the whole city; and becauſe the expedition was made by general conſent, the people, not knowing well where to lay the blame, charged all the fault upon thoſe that had the management of the war, ſince they could not charge thoſe who had been the deviſers of it; and the former accuſations againſt Rinaldo were revived. But moſt of all they loaded John Guicciardine, charging him, that he might, if he had pleaſed, have ended the war after Sforza's departure, but that he was corrupted with money, of which a great ſum he had ſent home,

offering to produce who had brought it, and who received it. Theſe rumours and accuſations grew ſo high, that the captain of the people moved by the public cry, and the clamour of the contrary faction, cited him. Signior John, full of indignation, appeared; but his friends, for their own honour ſake, laboured ſo earneſtly in the matter, that the captain did not proceed.

The Luccheſi after this victory, not only regained all their own towns, but ſurprized all thoſe belonging to the territory of Piſa, except Bientina, Calcinaia, Leghorn, and Librafatta; and had not the plot in Piſa been diſcovered, that city had likewiſe been loſt. The Florentines, recruiting their army, made Michalletto, who had been trained up under Sforza, general. On the other ſide, the duke cloſely purſued the advantage, and the more ſenſibly to afflict the Florentines, united the Genoeſe, thoſe of Siena, and the lord of Piombino, in a league for the defence of Lucca, making them entertain Nicolas Piccinino for general of the league; by which means all the whole intrigue was diſcovered; and the Florentines and Venetians renewing their antient alliance, open war was made in Lombardy and Tuſcany: and, in each province, ſundry fights enſued with various ſucceſs; till all parties wearied out, in May, fourteen hundred and thirty-three, a general peace was concluded; by which the Florentines, thoſe of Lucca and Siena, who, during this war, had ſeized ſeveral caſtles, one of the

thers, made reciprocal reſtitution; and each contented themſelves with their own poſſeſſions.

Whilſt this war was on foot, the malignant humours of the factions in the city got head; and Coſmo de Medici, after the death of John his father, managed the concerns of the commonwealth with more addreſs and care of the public, and with more freedom and liberality towards his friends, than his father had done before him; in ſo much that thoſe who rejoiced at the death of John, now ſeeing the management of Coſmo, were ſorry. Coſmo was a man of excellent prudence; of a grave and gracious aſpect; extremely liberal, and infinitely courteous; and who never attempted any thing againſt any of the factions, or againſt the ſtate; but ſtrove to oblige all the world, and by his liberality gain the good-will of the citizens. So that his virtues ſeemed to caſt a ſhadow upon thoſe that governed; and himſelf believed he might by theſe means live in Florence in ſufficient power and ſecurity; or if the malice of his adverſaries ſhould in any extraordinary manner oppoſe him, he might, by the number and ſtrength of his friends, oppreſs them. The main inſtruments to form his greatneſs were Averardo de Medici, and Puccio Pucci: Averardo with his courage, and Puccio with his counſel ſupporting and enlarging his reputation and renown. And in ſuch eſteem was Puccio's wiſdom and counſel, and ſo well known, that the faction was not called by Coſmo's name, but Poccio's. By a city thus divid-

ed was the expedition of Lucca made, and by it the contentions were rather inflamed than quenched; and although Coſmo's party were the chief counſellors of it, yet more of the contrary party had command of the army, as being of greater reputation in the ſtate: which, ſince Averardo de Medici and the reſt, could not remedy, they ſtrove, all they could, to calumniate them; and if any loſs happened, as many did, they imputed it not either to the good fortune, courage, and conduct of the enemy; but to the want of diſcretion and prudence in their own officers. Thus the miſtakes of Aſtorre Gianni became aggravated: thus was Rinaldo de Albizi's patience overborn, and he in a paſſion made return, laying down his commiſſion without leave; and thus was the delivery of John Guicciardine demanded from the captain of the people; and thus all the blame charged either upon the magiſtrates, or miniſters of war, had its original; for where the accuſation was true, it ſpread of itſelf, and where it was invented, art was added; and whether true or falſe, it was by the people, who hated them, believed.

Theſe new and extraordinary ways of proceeding were very well know to Nicolas de Uzano, and the chief of his party, and many times had they conſulted a remedy, but could conclude on none; for to give way to it they perceived was dangerous, and to put any violent ſtop to it, more difficult; but Nicolas de Uzano was the firſt who expreſſed his diſpleaſure againſt theſe ſtrange proceeding. And

in the heat of war abroad, and their diſorders at home, Nicolas Barbadori, endeavouring to diſpoſe Nicolas de Uzano to the ruin of Coſmo, went one day to his houſe, where finding him alone, and in a profound ſtudy, he endeavoured, by all the weighty arguments he could invent, to perſuade him to conſent with Rinaldo to drive Coſmo out of the city. To whom Nicolas Uzano made this reply:

'In my judgment, it were better for you, your 'family, and all that join with you in this opinion, 'that they had beards of ſilver than of gold, as you 'are ſaid to have; for then their advice, proceeding from hoary and experienced heads, would be 'more judicious and profitable. I am of the mind, 'that thoſe, who deſire to baniſh Coſmo out of Florence, ſhould firſt of all weigh and meaſure their 'power with his. The party ſiding with us you 'have named the party of the nobles, and that oppoſing it the faction of the plebeians: were the 'truth correſpondent to the name, yet would the 'ſucceſs be in all points doubtful, and we have 'more reaſons to fear than hope, taught by the 'example of the ancient nobility, whom the plebeians have quite rooted out; but we have much 'more cauſe to fear, our party being divided, and 'theirs entire. In the firſt place, Neri di Gino, 'and Nerone di Nigi, two prime citizens, have never yet declared themſelves ſo, that we cannot 'well determine whether they are more our 'friends or theirs: there are many families,

'and many houſes divided; for many, out of en-
'vy to their very brethern and relations, disfavour
'us and ſide with them. Let me only put you
'in mind of ſome of the chief, and the reſt
'gueſs at yourſelf. Of the ſons of ſignior Maſo
'de Albizi, Luke, out of envy to Rinaldo, has join-
'ed himſelf to their party. In the family of the
'Guicciardines, and among the children of Louis,
'Peter is an enemy to John, and favours our adver-
'ſaries. Thomas and Nicolas Soderini, for the
'hate they bare their uncle Francis, do openly op-
'poſe us: ſo that if it be well conſidered, what
'they, and what we are, I ſee not any reaſon why
'our party ſhould be ſtiled noble more than theirs,
'unleſs, becauſe they are univerſally followed by
'the plebeians, which makes the worſe for us, and
'the better for them; we upon any occaſi- of
'diſputing it by arms being too weak to reſiſt them.
'And if we ſtand upon our dignity, that, from
'the antient reputation of the ſtate had its original
'and continuation for theſe fifty years; but when
'it comes to the proof, and our weakneſs is diſco-
'vered, we ſhall ſoon loſe all: or, if you think
'that the juſt occaſion prompting us to it will gain
'us credit, and them diſrepute; I anſwer, that the
'juſtice of our cauſe muſt then be underſtood by
'others as well as ourſelves, which happens quite
'contrary; for the occaſion moving us is founded
'on a ſuſpicion, leſt he ſhould make himſelf prince
'of this city; but though we ſuſpect it, others

'will not, nay, which is worſe, they accuſe us of 'what we accuſe him.

'The things which chiefly render Coſmo ſuſpect-'ed, are, becauſe he employs his money to ſerve 'all mens occaſions, not only public perſons, but 'private; not only Florentines, but foreigners: 'becauſe he favours this, and that other citizen, 'who ſtand for the magiſtracy; and becauſe, by 'his credit with the multitude, he advances this 'and that other friend to greater degrees of ho-'nour. Tell me therefore the reaſons why you 'would have him baniſhed; is it becauſe he is cha-'ritable, friendly, liberal, and beloved? Pray, 'what law prohibits, blames, or condemns men 'for charity, liberality, and love? And though 'all men, aſpiring to principality, uſually tread 'theſe paths, yet they are not thought to do ſo; 'nor can we force it into mens belief; for our pro-'ceedings have debauched our credit; and this city, 'foſtered in diviſions, and the citizens, uſed to live 'in parties and faction, are grown ſo corrupt, they 'will never give faith to ſuch accuſations. But, 'ſuppoſe we ſhould attain our deſires of expelling 'him, which, having a ſenate for the purpoſe, may 'eaſily be effected, yet how can you adviſe to op-'poſe his return, whilſt he has ſo many friends re-'maining, who will be zealous for it? it would be 'impoſſible; his friends being numerous, and he ſo 'univerſally beloved; and the more of his friends 'you labour to baniſh, the more enemies you con-

'tract to yourſelves; ſo that return in a ſhort time 'he will, and all the gain will be this, that you 'baniſhed a good man, and have an evil one re-'turned you; for his nature will be corrupted by 'thoſe who labour his revocation, whom he can-'not contradict: and, if you deſign his death, by 'order of the magiſtracy, you will never procure 'it; for his money, and our own corrupt natures, 'would certainly ſave him. But ſuppoſe him dead, 'or baniſhed, ſo that he can no more return; I 'cannot perceive the advantage would thereby ac-'crue to our commonwealth; for, by being freed 'from Coſmo, it will be inſlaved to Rinaldo; and, 'for my part, though I could wiſh no citizen ſu-'perior to another in power and authority, yet, if 'one of theſe muſt prevail, there is ſome ſecret rea-'ſon perſuades me to love Rinaldo better than Coſ-'mo. I ſay no more, but God forbid that any citi-'zen ſhould uſurp a principality over us; yet if our 'ſins have deſerved ſuch a plague, of all men living 'I would not obey him. I do not therefore per-'ſuade an attempt any way hazardous, nor believe 'that the combination of a few can withſtand the 'will of many: for the multitude, partly through 'ignorance, and partly through malice, are all rea-'dy to ſell the commonwealth; and fortune is ſo 'kind to them they have already found a purchaſ-'er. Let my counſel therefore prevail, live modeſt-'ly, and you will ſoon obſerve, as to the liberty 'of the city, ſome of our party ought to be ſuſpect-'ed as well as the other; and if any troubles ariſe,

'living in an eaſy neutrality, you will be grateful 'to all, and ſo may be helpful to yourſelf, and 'not hurtful to your country.'

Theſe words ſomewhat appeaſed Barbadori's mind, and the city continued quiet during the Lucchese war. But peace being concluded, and with it the death of Nicolas Uzano, the city having ſlipt off the bridle of war, had no reins to govern it, but run madly on to fury and diſorder: for Rinaldo, remaining now the ſole head of his faction, inceſſantly intreated and perſuaded all thoſe citizens of quality, whom he thought likely to be made Gonfalonier, to arm themſelves for the defence of their country againſt a man, who, by reaſon of the malice of ſome, and ignorance of others, muſt of neceſſity reduce them into ſlavery. Theſe proceedings of Rinaldo's, and the oppoſitions made by the adverſe party, raiſed fears and jealouſies in the city: at the creating of every magiſtracy they publicly diſcourſed how many of the one party, and how many of the other, ſat; and at the election of ſenators the whole city was in uproar. Every cauſe of the ſlighteſt moment, that came before the magiſtrates to be decided, begot a tumult; cabinet counſels were divulged; good and bad men favoured, and disfavoured; and both ſorts equally tormented and moleſted.

Whilſt Florence was in this confuſion, and Rinaldo zealous to ſuppreſs the greatneſs of Coſmo, he, knowing that Bernardo Guadagno was likely to be elected Gonfalonier, pays his debts, laſt the

money he owed the public ſhould be an obſtacle to his arrival at that dignity. It happened, at the drawing of the lots, that, fortune favouring our diſorders, Bernardo was elected Gonfalonier, to officiate during the months of September and October: whom ſignior Rinaldo preſently went to wait upon, repreſenting to him, 'How many, on the 'party of the nobles, and even all that deſired to 'live well, rejoiced at his advancement to that dig-'nity; and therefore it was his part to take care 'they ſhould not rejoice in vain: laying before him 'the dangers that attended on diſcord, and how 'there was no other way to unite the city but by 'expelling Coſmo; who, with the general love his 'exceſſive riches had gained him, kept others weak, 'and was grown to that height, that if ſudden 'proviſion were not made, he would aſpire to the 'principality. It was therefore his duty, like a 'good citizen, to apply a ſpeedy remedy, by calling 'the people into the Piazza, reſuming the govern-'ment, and reſtoring the city to her liberty;' remembering him, 'How Silveſter Medici did, with-'out juſtice, bridle the power of the Guelfs, to 'whom a right of government, for the blood of 'their anceſtors, ſhed in defence of it, belonged; 'and what he unjuſtly did againſt ſo many, why 'ſhould he now fear to act juſtly againſt one? Ex-'horting him not to be afraid, for their friends, 'with their arms, would be ready to aſſiſt him. 'Nor was any account to be made of the multitude 'that adored him, whoſe favour would prove as

'defective to him as it had done to George Scali;
'nor ſhould he be awed by his riches, which,
'were he once in the ſenates power, would be
'theirs: concluding, that this action would both
'quiet the ſtate, and make him famous.' To all which perſuaſions Bernardo briefly anſwered;
'That he thought what he propoſed neceſſary, and
'becauſe the time was not to be ſpent in words but
'actions, he would preſently prepare his forces to
'be ready, ſo ſoon as his companions were per-
'ſuaded to it.'

As ſoon as Bernardo was entered into the magiſtracy, his friends, all diſpoſed and agreed with Rinaldo's, he cited Coſmo, who, though by many otherwiſe adviſed, appears, relying more on his own innocency, than the favour or mercy of the ſenate. As ſoon as Coſmo was entered the palace, and arreſted, Rinaldo, with many armed men, ſallies out of his houſe, and joining with the reſt of the faction, comes into the Piazza, whither the ſenate ſummoned the people, and created a Balia of two hundred men to reform the government of the city. This Balia, as expeditiouſly as they could, began to treat of the reformation of the ſtate, and of the life and death of Coſmo. Many would have him baniſhed; ſome would have him put to death, and others ſaid nothing, either out of compaſſion to him, or fear of themſelves: ſo this diverſity of opinions produced no reſult.

In the tower of the palace is a cloſe ſtrong room, called the Alberghettino. There Coſmo was kept

priſoner under the guard of Frederic Malavolti; from which place Coſmo hearing their talk, and the noiſe of armed men in the Piazza, and the often ſounding to the Balia, ſtood in fear of his life; but was moſt of all jealous, leaſt his enemies ſhould, by ſome extraordinary way, deprive him of it; which made him abſtain from all meats, ſo that in four days he had taſted nothing but a little bread, which Frederic taking notice of, ſaid to him: 'Coſmo, I ſee you are afraid of being poiſoned; but you wrong my honour by imagining I would have a hand in ſuch a wickedneſs. I cannot believe your life in any danger, having ſo many friends in the palace, and abroad: but, if they have a deſign that you ſhall die, be aſſured they muſt make choice of other miniſters to execute it; for I will not imbrue my hands in the blood of any man, much leſs yours who never injured me. Be therefore of good chear, and fall to your meat, and preſerve your life to the comfort of your friends and country: and to give you more confidence to do it, I will myſelf firſt eat of whatever is ſet before you.'

Theſe words extremely comforted Coſmo, and, with tears in his eyes, he kiſſed and embraced Frederic, and with kind and obliging words returned him thanks for ſo compaſſionate and friendly an office, promiſing to give teſtimonies of his gratitude, when ever fortune ſhould give him an opportunity. Coſmo thus put in heart, whilſt the citizens were debating his fate, it happened that Frederic, to

make him ſomewhat the pleaſanter, brought along to ſupper with him a familiar friend of the Gonfalonier's, called Fargannacio, a man made for wit and entertainment. Supper being almoſt ended, Coſmo having conceived that this man might do him ſome ſervice, for he was well acquainted with him, beckoned to Frederic to withdraw, who, underſtanding the ſign, pretending to fetch ſomething wanting at ſupper, went out and left them alone: Coſmo after ſome kind and obliging words to Fargannacio, gave him a token, and enjoined him to go to the hoſpital of Sancta Maria Nuova for eleven hundred ducats, a hundred of which he ſhould keep for his own uſe, and the thouſand deliver to the Gonfalonier; withal deſiring him to make ſome plauſible pretence to come and ſpeak with him. He accepts the commiſion, the money was paid, and Bernardo mollified, ſo that Coſmo was only confined to Padona, contrary to the intentions of Rinaldo, who ſought his life. Everard, and many others of the houſe of Medici, with John, and Puccio Pucci, were likewiſe baniſhed; and to terrify thoſe that were diſſatisfied with Coſmo's baniſhment, they gave the Balia to eight of the guard, and to the captain of the people. After which determinations, on the third of October, fourteen hundred and thirty-three, Coſmo was brought before the lords, where the ſentence of his confinement was pronounced, and he counſelled to ſubmit to it, leaſt they ſhould be forced to proceed with greater ſeverity againſt both his perſon and goods.

Coſmo, with a chearful countenance, received his ſentence, aſſuring them, that whitherſoever their lordſhips thought fit to ſend him he ſhould be willing to go; but beſought them, ſince they had ſaved his life, they would pleaſe likewiſe to defend it; becauſe he underſtood many of his enemies did, in the Piaza, lie in wait for his blood; aſſuring them, that wherever he was, he and his ſubſtance ſhould ever be at the command of the city, the people, and their lordſhips. Hereupon the Gonfalonier conforted him, and kept him in the palace till night, and then conducting him to his houſe, after ſupper, gave him a ſtrong guard to accompany him to the confines. Coſmo, wherever he paſſed, was honourably received and publicly viſited by the Venetians, not like a baniſhed man, but like one in ſupreme anthority.

Florence thus robbed of ſo worthy a citizen, ſo univerſally beloved, every one was diſmayed, and as well the victors, as the conquered, ſeemed terrified. Inſomuch that Rinaldo, doubtful of his future misfortune, that he might not be wanting to himſelf and his faction, having aſſembled many citizens, his friends, told them: 'That he now be-'held their ruin approaching; for having ſuffered 'themſelves, by their enemy's prayers, tears, and 'money to be vanquiſhed, not conſidering that 'themſelves ſhould ere long be forced to entreat 'and weep, whilſt none heard their prayers, nor 'had compaſſion of their tears, and that the mo-'ney given muſt be repaid with exile, torments,

' and death, inſtead of uſury: for it had been bet-
' ter for them to have been dead, than to leave Coſ-
' mo alive, or ſuffer a friend of his in Florence;
' for great perſons ſhould never be touched, or if
' they be, put paſt revenge. There was now
' therefore no remedy left but to fortify themſelves
' in the city, that if the reſentments of their ene-
' mies ſhould break forth, as ſoon they would,
' they might oppreſs them by arms, ſince by law
' and order they could not curb or reſtrain them;
' and that the remedy was the ſame now which had
' long ſince been remembered; to wit, to regain
' the great men, by reſtoring them to all honours
' in the city, and ſtrengthen themſelves with that
' party, ſince their enemies had fortified themſelves
' with the plebeians: that by this means their par-
' ty would be encouraged, having ſuch an addition
' of force, virtue, valour, and credit: affirming,
' if they neglected this only true and ultimate re-
' medy, he could diſcover no way how to ſecure
' the ſtate amidſt ſo many enemies, but behold the
' approaching ruin of their party, and the whole
' city.' To which Mariotto Boldavinetti, one of the company, oppoſed himſelf; declaring, ' That
' the pride and haughty nature of the gran-
' dees was inſupportable, and that it was madneſs
' to have recourſe to a certain tyranny to eſcape a
' doubtful danger from the plebeians.' So that ſignior Rinaldo ſeeing his counſels ſlighted, lament-ed his and his friends misfortune, attributing this

averſeneſs rather to providence that would have it ſo, than to the ignorance and blindneſs of men.

Whilſt things ſtood in this poſture, and no neceſſary proviſion made, a letter was found written by ſignior Agnolo Acciaivolo to Coſmo, adviſing him of the city's good inclinations towards him, and encouraging him to move a war, and make Neri Gini his friend: for he judged the city wanted money, which not knowing how to ſupply otherwiſe, his memory, and the ardent deſire of his return, would be revived among the citizens: and if Neri were drawn off from Rinaldo, his party would be too weak to defend themſelves. This letter coming to the magiſtrates hands was the occaſion that ſignior Agnolo was taken, ſequeſtred, and baniſhed: yet this example curbed not at all the favourers of Coſmo.

The year had now almoſt gone its round ſince Coſmo's baniſhment, when, about Auguſt fourteen hundred and thirty-four, Nicolas de Cocco was choſen Gonfalonier for the two enſuing months, and with him eight ſenators, all of Coſmo's party, ſo that ſuch a ſignory might well affright Rinaldo and his whole party: and becauſe it is cuſtomary, that the lords elected, before they entered upon the magiſtracy, are three days private, Rinaldo ſummons again the heads of his party, and declares to them the approaching danger, and that there was no remedy but taking arms, and cauſing Donato Velluti, who yet ſat as Gonfalonier, to aſſemble the people in the Piazza, eſtabliſh a Balia to remove the

new lords from their magiſtracy, and create others fit for their own purpoſe; and burning the old purſes make new imborſations, filled with the names of their friends.

This device was by many thought both requiſite and ſafe; others judged it much too violent and dangerous; and among thoſe that oppoſed it was Palla Strozzi, who was a quiet man, civil, courteous, and apter for ſtudy than to encounter faction, or quell civil diſcords; who therefore argued, 'That 'all attempts, whether guided by policy or valour, 'ſeem in their beginning eaſy, but in the proceſs 'prove difficult, and in the end dangerous; that he 'believed the fear of an approaching war from abroad, 'the duke of Romania being with an army on our 'confines, would make the lords mind their de-'fence, rather than inteſtine diſcords: yet if they 'would change affairs, which could not be done 'but they muſt know it, it would then be time to 'take arms, and execute what was thought neceſ-'ſary for the public ſafety. Which when they 'were forced to, would create leſs wonder in the 'people, and leſs reproach to themſelves.'

It was therefore concluded, that the new lords ſhould enter, and their proceedings be diligently watched; and if they attempted any thing contrary to the faction, every one ſhould take arms and aſſemble at St. Pulinare, a place nigh the palace, whence they might proceed to act what ſhould be judged neceſſary. Concluding upon this, every

man returned home, and the new ſenators entered upon the magiſtracy, and the Gonfalonier, to gain himſelf reputation, and terrify the adverſe party, committed to priſon Donato Velluti his predeceſſor, for having embezzled the public treaſure: and then ſounded the minds of his companions about Coſmo's return, whom finding diſpoſed, he conſults with the chiefs of the Medici party, and encouraged by them, cites ſignior Rinaldo, Ridolpho Perruzzi, and Nicolas Barbadori, principals of the oppoſite faction. Upon which citation, Rinaldo thought it no longer fit to protract time, but ſallying from his houſe with a great number of armed followers, was preſently joined by Ridolpho Perruzzi and Nicolas Barbadori, with whom were many citizens, and many ſoldiers, which happened at that time to be in Florence, and out of pay; all which reſorted according to the former agreement to the place of St. Pulinare. Signior Palla Strozzi, though he had aſſembled a great force, ſtaid within his houſe, and the like did ſignior John Guicciardine; whereupon Rinaldo ſent to urge them, and reprove their delay. John made anſwer, that he waged, as he thought, ſufficient war againſt the enemy, if by ſtaying at home he hindered his brother's ſallying forth to reſcue the palace. Palla after many meſſages came to St. Pulinare on horſe-back, unarmed, attended only by two foot-men; whom Rinaldo, going to meet, fiercely reproved for his negligence; telling him, 'That his not aſſembling with the reſt proceeded 'from his want of faith, or courage, both blame-

'worthy in any one who would be thought a per-
'ſon of honour, and if he vainly believed that for
'not doing his duty, the enemy would upon victo-
'ry pardon him either life or baniſhment, he was
'deceived. As for his part, if any ſiniſter accident
'happened, he ſhould have this ſatisfaction, that
'as he had not been wanting in counſel before the
'danger, ſo he did not want courage in the midſt
'of it; but as for him and the reſt, their diſcon-
'tents would be aggravated with the conſciouſneſs
'of having thrice betrayed their country: firſt,
'when they ſaved Coſmo's life; then, when they
'ſlighted his counſels; and laſtly, now to aſſiſt
'him with their arms.' To all which, Palla re-
plied not a word that was heard by the by-ſtand-
ards, but murmuring, turned his horſe and re-
turned home.

The ſenate hearing ſignior Rinaldo and his party had taken arms, and ſeeing themſelves forſaken, ſhut the palace gates, and void of counſel knew not what courſe to take. But ſignior Rinaldo delaying his going into the Piazza, expecting thoſe forces that came not, loſt his opportunity of victory, and gave heart to the ſenators to make proviſion for their ſafety, and to many citizens to go in to them to adviſe how matters ſtood, and how things might be appeaſed. Then ſome friends of the ſenate, whom Rinaldo had leaſt in ſuſpicion, went to him, and told him, 'That the ſenate knew not the rea-
'ſon of theſe commotions, nor could imagine how

'they offended him, or if it were for Coſmo's ſake, 'there was no intention of recalling him; but if 'that were their jealouſy, they might be aſſured of 'the contrary; and if they would freely come to 'the palace they ſhould be welcome, and have all 'their demands ſatisfied.' Theſe words could not change Rinaldo's reſolution; who replied, 'That 'he would ſecure himſelf, by making the ſenate 'private men, and then reform the ſtate to every 'one's content.' But it always happens, that where authority is equal, opinions are various, and ſeldom any thing well reſolved. Ridolpho Perruzzi, moved with the words of thoſe citizens, ſaid, 'That, for his part, he deſired nothing but that Coſ-'mo ſhould no more return, and the grant of that, 'he thought victory ſufficient, nor deſired he, out 'of hopes of gaining more, to fill the city with 'blood, but would obey the ſenate:' and thereupon, with his people, went to the palace where he was joyfully received. Thus Rinaldo's ſtaying at St. Pulinare, the cowardize of Palla, and the departure of Ridolpho, had deprived their party of the victory; and the hearts of the citizens following Rinaldo, began to grow cold and faint; to which the authority of the pope contributed.

Pope Eugenius, who had been expelled by the people of Rome, was now in Florence, and hearing of theſe tumults, thought it his duty to endeavour to appeaſe them; to which end he ſends the patriarch, John Vitelleſchi, an intimate friend of Rinaldo's, to deſire him to come to him, not doubting

but he had credit and authority ſufficient with the ſenate, to content and ſecure him without blood, or damage to his citizens. Rinaldo perſuaded by his friend, with all his armed followers goes to St. Maria Novella, where the pope reſided. Eugenius declares to him the power the ſenate had committed to him to determine all controverſies, which, on condition he would lay down arms, ſhould be done to his full ſatisfaction. Rinaldo having made proof of the coldneſs of Palla and the inconſtancy of Ridolpho Perruzzi, deſpairing of better terms yielded himſelf into the pope's hands, not doubting but his authority would ſecure him; whereupon the pope preſently ſignified to Nicolas Barbadori, and the reſt who ſtayed for him without, that they ſhould lay down their arms; for ſignior Rinaldo relied upon the pope to make an agreement, with the ſenate: and at firſt word they all obeyed, and diſbanded. The ſenators, ſeeing their adverſaries diſarmed, applied themſelves to an agreement, by the pope's intermiſſion; but privily ſent away to the rock of Piſtoia for ſome companies of foot, which, with all their men at arms, they by night brought into Florence, and ſeizing all the ſtrong places of the city ſummoned the people into the Piazza, and created a new Balia, who, as ſoon as they aſſembled, reſtored Coſmo to his country, with all thoſe that were confined; and of the adverſe party baniſhed Rinaldo de Albizi, Ridolpho Perruzzi, Nicolas Barbadori, and Palla Strozzi, with many other citizens, in ſuch vaſt numbers,

that there were few towns in Italy to which ſome were not confined, and many places out of Italy were filled with them. By which accident Florence was not only much diſpeopled, but robbed of its riches and induſtry.

The pope, ſeeing the ruin of theſe men who, at his deſire, had laid down arms, was extremely diſcontented, and condoled with Rinaldo for the wrong done him under his faith and credit, exhorting him to patience, and by ſome happy change to hope for better fortune. To which Rinaldo anſwered: 'The want of credit in thoſe which ſhould 'have believed me, and my too eaſy reliance on 'you, hath ruined me and my party; but I have 'moſt reaſon to blame myſelf to imagine that you, 'who were driven out of your own country, could 'ſecure me in mine. I had ſufficient experience of 'the dalliances of fortune, and having never con-'fided in proſperity, am leſs afflicted at adverſity; 'knowing well, that fortune when ſhe pleaſes may 'again favour me. But if ſhe never do, I ſhall not 'be over-fond of living in that city, where faction 'over-rules the laws; for that country is only de-'ſirable where men may peaceably enjoy their 'friends and eſtates, and not that where a man 'may be eaſily deprived of the latter; and the firſt, 'for fear of hazarding their own, in his greateſt 'neceſſity forſake him; for to the wiſe it is leſs 'grievous to hear of the miſeries of their country, 'than behold them with their eyes; and more glo-'rious to be accounted an honourable rebel, than

'a ſlaviſh citizen.' So taking leave of the pope, full of indignation, and blaming often his own councils, and the coldneſs of his friends, he went into baniſhment.

On the other ſide, Coſmo, having intelligence of his revocation, returned to Florence. Seldom has any citizen, returning triumphant after victory, been received with ſuch a concourſe of people, ſuch acclamations of joy, and ſuch demonſtration of an univerſal affection, as he was upon his return from baniſhment; the citizens voluntarily ſaluting him with the titles of "The peoples benefactor," and, "The father of his country."

The End of the FIRST VOLUME.

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